

WHAT LINCOLN WOULD DO TODAY

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COMPARISONS



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Abraham Lincoln Comparisons

What Lincoln Would Do Today

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LINCOLN WOULD APPROVE OF PRESIDENT'S WORK, SAYS TAFT

War Executive Urged Maintaining National Dignity and Opposed Corporate Crime, He Tells Banqueters

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Feb. 12.
SECRETARY OF WAR WILLIAM H. TAFT was the principal speaker at the Lincoln Club banquet here tonight. He responded to the toast, "What Would Lincoln do Today?" and unconditionally stated that Lincoln would be found, were he alive today, supporting President Roosevelt in his war upon criminal corporate power; and that he would indorse Roosevelt's efforts to make the United States a world power of the first magnitude.

Other speakers at the banquet were J. J. Jusserand, the French ambassador; William Alden Smith, junior United States Senator from Michigan, and Governor Curtis Guild, Sr., of Massachusetts.

Mr. Taft's arrival from Kansas City at 2.20 o'clock this afternoon was marked by tremendous enthusiasm. When he descended from the private car of Vice President Hughart, of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railway, in which he rode from Chicago, he was cheered by hundreds of members of the newly organized Taft Club.

In his speech tonight Secretary Taft said:

Greatest Politician of Age.

"I did not select this toast—'What Would Lincoln Do Today?'—and should not have chosen it of my own free will. It is difficult to fit into a new niche of history a really great man, whose greatness is indissolubly associated with a particular crisis in which he lived. One cannot take him from the environment in which the grandness of his character stands out.

"There are few lives which seem to have been shapen so providentially to meet a country's great need as that of Lincoln with reference to slavery and the Civil War.

"Coming from a childhood of the greatest penury and discomfort and squalor, mingling with the humblest and the poorest in a western settlement, Lincoln acquired a sense of equality and democracy and a love of equal rights that never left him and gave deep color to his whole life.

"He was the greatest politician of the age, and while he had deeply imbedded in his moral nature the principles in favor of human liberty, he did not propose to sacrifice his influence to bring about the goal of his whole life's ambition by going so fast in extreme declarations of abstract principles as to deprive him of future usefulness.

Was Strong Party Man.

"Lincoln was a party man, as every man must be who wishes to leave his individual impress upon the individual character of the nation. I do not mean for a moment to deprecate independence of party or mugwumpism, because I believe that the independent vote on the whole exercises more direct effect in the election than the party vote. It must be so. But while all independent voters as a mass exercise more control over the decisions in an election, as individuals they do not do so. The man who would retain his individual influence and effect good measures in our country, where parties are a necessity in the carrying on of the government, must be a party man. And no one recognized this more fully than did Lincoln.

"For that reason, we may say in the first place that if Lincoln were living today he would be a Republican.

"Lincoln's economic views were not distinctly marked. Early in his career he favored in general improvements in Illinois

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not directed, even during the war, to economic subjects. He safely delegated the finances of the country to his secretary of the treasury, Mr. Chase.

Favored "Protection."

"As a follower of Mr. Clay, he was in favor of the protective or American system, as it was called. We can, therefore, assign him to a place in the present day among protectionists."

Mr. Taft then told where he thought Lincoln would stand on the Republican Philippine policy. He said:

"Had Lincoln been in the seat occupied by McKinley when the problem was presented to him after the Spanish War as to what should be done with respect to the Philippines, there is nothing in his career, nothing in any of his speeches, properly understood, which would have prevented him taking exactly the same course which McKinley took."

Leaving the Philippine problem, the secretary continued:

Must Play a Big Part.

"The growth in the power of this country, even from the time of Lincoln to the present day, has been enormous. The increase has been from about 30,000,000 to 80,000,000 of people. All of this increases the influence that we must wield in the world, whether we would or no.

"We are upon the international stage; we must play some part. We cannot longer occupy a position of isolation.

"During the administration of Theodore Roosevelt our influence as a world power has exceeded anything before in our history. We have done more toward bringing about the peace of the world than any power in this century.

"Under these circumstances, is there room for doubt that Abraham Lincoln would have approved the policy of McKinley and Roosevelt in maintaining our position as a world power?

"Finally, can there be any doubt where Abraham Lincoln would have stood in the issues which peculiarly distinguish the administration of Theodore Roosevelt? I refer to the struggle which he and his administration have made for the elimination from our business and political fabric of the corrupting influence of the unlawful business combinations and the demoralizing effect of disobedience to law by our great railroad and transportation companies.

How He Viewed Capital.

"The one thing that distinguished Lincoln in all his life was the contention in favor of the equal administration and protection of the laws. From the soles of his feet through all that long frame to the top of his head he was a Democrat in the true sense of the word and opposed to privilege and class immunity. He was not an enemy of wealth lawfully accumulated.

"He welcomed and encouraged internal improvements and, of course, favored prosperity developed by business enterprises and the combinations of capital, but he always exalted in the consideration of every issue the rights of the individual and especially of the humble members of society who were least able to protect themselves.

"Therefore, we may know with certainty that cannot brook contradiction that in the struggle to make all business lawful, to take away from great corporate combination the illegal privileges and immunities that official investment shown in many instances to Lincoln would have made a fight which has endeared the same plain people who upheld the hands of the government through all its administration."

WHAT WOULD LINCOLN DO TO-DAY?

MR. TAFT REPLIES TO THAT QUESTION.

*Says the Great War President Would
Approve the Policies of Mc-
Kinley and Roosevelt.*

Grand Rapids, Mich., Feb. 12.—The Lincoln Club dinner here to-night was a brilliant success, with a galaxy of speakers never equalled in Michigan political dinners. It was held in the Klingman Furniture Exposition Building, and more than two thousand persons occupied seats at the tables. The hall was elaborately decorated, and as a compliment to Ambassador Jusserand, French colors were mingled with the American.

President Roy M. Watkins of the Young Men's Republican Club and President Charles Holden of the Lincoln Club opened the dinner with greetings. United States Senator William Alden Smith was toastmaster and introduced the guests of the evening. The speakers were Ambassador Jusserand, Congressman George Edmund Foss, William H. Taft, Secretary of War; Governor Curtis Guild, jr., of Massachusetts and Director John Barrett of the Bureau of American Republics at Washington.

Although all of the speakers were greeted with enthusiasm, it was Secretary Taft who received the greatest outburst of applause. It continued for several minutes before he could begin his address, and his speech was freely interrupted by applause.

SECRETARY TAFT'S ADDRESS.

Secretary Taft said:

"What would Lincoln do to-day?"

I did not select this toast, and should not have chosen it of my own free will. It is difficult to fit into a new niche of history a really great man whose greatness is indissolubly associated with a particular crisis in which he lived. One cannot take him from the environment in which the grandness of his character stands out. There are few lives which seem to have been shaped so providentially to meet a country's great need as that of Lincoln with reference to slavery and the Civil War. Coming from a childhood of the greatest penury and discomfort and squalor, mingling with the humblest and the poorest in a Western settlement, Lincoln acquired a sense of equality and democracy and a love of equal rights that never left him and gave deep color to his whole life. His soul revolted at human slavery. He had a tenderness of heart and a sympathy with his fellow man that manifested itself in the smallest details of his life, and he had a power of putting himself in another's place which gave him a profound sense of justice. He understood the play of human nature as few men have. He knew the motives and the things which influenced the plain people as no other American in our American race of politicians has understood them. He had a sense of humor and a power of quaint expression and a capacity for creating which enabled him to give force by homely illustration to the arguments which his great power of logic enabled him to drive home.

GREATEST POLITICIAN OF HIS AGE.

He was the greatest politician of his age, and while he had deeply imbedded in his moral nature the principles in favor of human liberty, he did not purpose to sacrifice his influence to bring about the goal of his whole life's ambition by going so fast in extreme declarations of abstract principles as to deprive him of future

ure the story of Lincoln of Herndon, his partner, and noted with intense interest his unwillingness to attend a meeting of abolitionists lest he might lose his influence with the Whigs, who did not sympathize with the abolitionists. Nor did he wish to offend the abolitionists. So he made a court engagement for himself some twenty miles away which made it impossible for him to attend the meeting. Now, it would be easy to say that this was cowardly, that this was the trick of a mere politician, but I think we may well ascribe the motive to a desire not to lose his usefulness at a time when the future seemed big with opportunity for him. His whole life showed that, while he had ideals, he never allowed the longing for the impossible to interfere with the securing of the possible.

He was a party man, as every man must be who wishes to leave his individual impress upon the individual character of the nation. I do not mean for a moment to deprecate independence of party or mugwumpism, because I believe that the independent vote on the whole exercises

more direct effect in the election than the party vote. It must be so. But while all independent voters as a mass exercise more control over the decisions in an election, as individuals they do not do so. The man who would retain his individual influence and effect good measures in our country, where parties are a necessity in the carrying on of the government, must be a party man. And no one recognizes this more fully than did Lincoln. For that reason we may say, in the first place, that if Lincoln were living to-day he would be a Republican.

Lincoln's economic views were not distinctly marked. Early in his career he favored internal improvements in Illinois as a member of the Legislature to such a point as to involve the state in a heavy indebtedness, which never injured largely to the benefit of the people. His mind was not directed, even during the war, to economic subjects. He safely delegated the finances of the country to his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase. As a follower of Mr. Clay, he was in favor of the protective or American system, as it was called. During his administration the Morrill tariff was passed, for the system of protection to American industries on the modern plan was then fully inaugurated. We can, therefore, assign him to a place in the present day among protectionists.

LINCOLN AND EXPANSION.

Where would he stand in respect to our Philippine policy and expansion? Would he, as the anti-imperialists take the position, were he living to-day, that the Republican party in its action in respect to Porto Rico and Cuba and the Philippines had departed from the principles that actuated him in becoming a Republican and in retaining that party in national control? Mr. Lincoln relied greatly in his discussions on the slavery question upon the terms of the Declaration of Independence. He dwelt upon the postulate set forth in that instrument that all men are created free and equal, and he insisted that, in so far as the Constitution recognized slavery, and in so far as slavery was an institution of our government, it was a departure from the Declaration of Independence, and it is possible to quote from his writings and speeches sentences which, taken from their text and made applicable to the Republican policy in the Philippines, would seem to be at variance with it. But when we understand what it was that Mr. Lincoln was attacking and compare it with what it is that we have done and are doing in the Philippines it will be seen that the two things are so different that it is utterly unsafe to assume that his attitude toward the policy of expansion and our Philippine policy would be the same as his attitude toward the institution of human slavery. He maintained that the words "All men are created free and equal" included the negro as well as the white man, but affirmed with great emphasis that he did not mean that the men who were thus declared equal were necessarily fitted at once to be voters or take part in the government. What he contended was that they were entitled to the bread they earned and should be given the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Lincoln was not a man stiffly dogmatic. He was a man who allowed the application of his principles to be controlled by the fitness of the thing. His whole nature was that of sweet reasonableness and common sense. Had he been in the seat occupied by McKinley when the problem was presented to him after the Spanish war as to what should be done with respect to the Philippines there is nothing in his career, nothing in any of his speeches properly understood, which would have prevented him from taking exactly the same course which McKinley took.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

It is true that Mr. Lincoln opposed, with argument and resolution, the course of Mr. Polk's administration in beginning the Mexican War, and that he regarded it as a mere quest for military glory and acquisition of territory that did not belong to us; but when one compares the different circumstances surrounding the recent Spanish war with those of the Mexican War no fair-minded man can sustain an analogy between the two. We can all remember the reluctance with which McKinley was finally brought to the necessity of taking up arms in behalf of the Cubans against Spain. No impartial historian will attribute to him in the beginning of that war either greed of territory or lust of power. The self-denying resolution of Senator Teller attached to the declaration of war relieved Congress and the country from any imputation of having as a motive in beginning that war territorial aggrandizement. It was a war that found its reason in the misgovernment of a people so near to the United States that their demoralization, their sufferings and their danger in point of health to all their neighbors had become an international scandal, and McKinley resisted to the uttermost the appeal to arms. But force of public opinion was too strong for him, and he yielded to the inevitable. Lincoln would have done exactly the same, and he could have done so without the slightest departure from the principles which guided him through the Mexican War and through the Civil War.

When the exigencies of the Cuban war took us to the Philippines and Porto Rico and the problem was submitted to us after the protocol was signed, whether we should take over the Philippines, a question arose for decision that finds no analogy whatever in the issues which Mr. Lincoln was called upon to consider, and our national course in that regard found no controlling principle in his declared political philosophy for our specific guidance.

THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM.

The Philippine Islands came to us without our design. In war one must pursue his enemy where he can find him. It was necessary that Dewey should destroy the Spanish fleet in the Pacific to prevent its use against our commerce and against our Pacific territory. The destruction of the Spanish fleet put the Philippines at our mercy. We had no troops, however, and as a reasonable war measure we invoked the assistance of Aguinaldo and his fellow insurgents against the power of Spain to assist us in establishing control on the land until our army could traverse the seven thousand miles between our ports and the Philippines. With the assistance of Aguinaldo's army we took the city of Manila and then peace came. The question was what course lay open to us.

Should we turn our Philippine allies back to the government of Spain and to the oppression against which they had revolted? Would Abraham Lincoln have advised that course? I cannot think so. Should we turn the islands over to Aguinaldo and his military subordinates? They had themselves in the nine months intervening tried to establish a civil government, and the tyrannies and the insufficiencies of that government in trying to maintain order would have made it a crime against the whole people of the islands for us thus to dodge responsibility and seek to escape the burden which Providence seemed to have thrust upon us. Would Abraham Lincoln have advised a policy of scuttle and retreat from these islands, to leave them with no government and a chaos that would only increase the suffering of those unfortunate people? Clearly, there is nothing in the Declaration of Independence as interpreted by Abraham Lincoln that would have compelled this pusillanimous course.

It is true that the Declaration recites that all just government must rely on the consent of the governed; but that is to be interpreted as meaning a consent of the governed who have intelligence sufficient to enable them to discriminate as to what is government in their own interest. Lincoln in his debates with Douglas did not insist that the colored men, as they then were, should take part in the government as voters, but he evidently treated the postulate in the Declaration of Independence as the ideal toward which all government should work. He would have been the last man to affirm that it was the duty of McKinley and the Republican party, responsible for administration, to have turned those islands over to a people of seven millions, with 90 per cent having a density of ignorance hard for us to understand, and with 10 per cent, though somewhat educated and intelligent, yet without the slightest experience in the exercise of political and governmental control.

FOLLOWING LINCOLN'S PRINCIPLES.

I affirm that the policy adopted by William McKinley and embraced by the Republican party, under which is proposed a gradual extending of self-government to the people of the Philippine Islands as they shall become better and better politically educated by practice and by the school system, is following the true spirit and proper interpretation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. No man would have been quicker to scout as impracticable dogmatism the bitter criticism, the unreasonable opposition and the almost traitorous sympathy with the opposition of our government in the Philippines displayed by the anti-imperialists and their Democratic followers than Lincoln.

In the now nearly ten years that we have been in the islands we have produced tranquillity and freedom from ladronism and disturbance, which long interfered with the agriculture of the islands. We have done this at the cost of blood and treasure. Would Abraham Lincoln have disapproved this policy?

We have found a people separated from each other by sixteen different dialects of barbarous character and small vocabulary, and we are now engaged with a school system in teaching their children, at the rate of five hundred thousand a year, a common medium of communication, the business language of the Orient and the language of free civilized institutions—our own

English. Would Abraham Lincoln have disapproved that policy?

We have brought about in the islands a system of sanitation which has greatly reduced the death rate, and we are gradually teaching those tropical people to live in such a way that they may become stronger and better and far abler to resist the diseases of the tropic zones. Would Abraham Lincoln have dissented from this policy?

We have introduced a system of taxation by which the burdens of government are borne by the wealthy and the humble in the proportion of their ability to pay, and have abolished the old Spanish system by which the taxes were chiefly exacted from the poor and humble classes. We have introduced and carried on a system of improvement of harbors, roads, railroads and inter-island communication by steam navigation. We have united the islands by improving the means of intercommunication and stimulating the spread of a common medium in language as they never have been united before. Would Abraham Lincoln have objected to this policy?

We have organized autonomy in the municipalities, autonomy in the provincial governments; we have introduced into the central governments as one branch of the legislature a National Assembly, selected by the eligible voters of the Christian provinces, and we have now a government that is largely a government of the Philippine people, under the final guidance, however, of an American executive and one American branch of the legislature. Would Abraham Lincoln have dissented from this policy of thus, step by step, leading these people on to an understanding of the responsibilities of self-government and familiarity with its difficulties?

We have introduced into the islands all the constitutional guarantees under the federal constitution, except the right to bear arms and the right to serve on juries, for both of which, as the civilization of the people is entirely unmet, but we have given them, and they are now enjoying, the right to life, liberty and prosperity and the pursuit of happiness and freedom from deprivation of any of those rights except by due process of law. We have given them a judicial system in the impartiality and efficiency of which they have every confidence. Would Abraham Lincoln have dissented from this?

LINCOLN WOULD HAVE APPROVED.

The truth is, when the altruistic, liberal policy inaugurated by McKinley and carried on under Roosevelt with respect to the Philippines is fully understood, and the life of Lincoln, his ideals and his political methods are considered, it may be affirmed without hesitation that he would have approved the Philippine policy from the beginning to the end, not as a departure from but as a vindication of the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

Stepping now beyond the Philippine policy into the general policy of expansion, can it be properly assumed that Lincoln would have been opposed to this distinguishing characteristic of the McKinley administration? If it were founded on military glory and the lust of power it would certainly not meet his approval, but that is the last motive which can be properly attributed to those who have supported and carried on the present national policy of expansion and world power influence. One of the reasons

why Mr. Lincoln was so bitterly opposed to slavery, as he said in his controversy with Douglas, was that it was an inconsistent blot upon our escutcheon as a free country, and that it robbed us of our proper world influence in favor of freedom and liberty. Nothing could more clearly show his desire that we, among the nations of the world, should wield an influence in favor of the spread of free institutions and in favor of international morality.

The growth in the power of this country, even from the time of Mr. Lincoln to the present day, has been enormous. The increase has been from about 30,000,000 to 80,000,000 people. The population of the country now extends solidly from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. All of this increases the influence that we must wield in the world, whether we would or no. The speed with which communication can now be had between the nations of the world has so far reduced the size of the world for practical purposes that we are much nearer to our national neighbors than we ever were before. We are upon the international stage; we must play some part. We can no longer occupy a position of isolation. Let us, then, see to it that the part we bear is of sufficient dignity and force to be worthy of the intelligence, the wealth and the moral tone of our people and the extent of our possessions.

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION.

During the administration of Theodore Roosevelt our influence as a world power has exceeded anything before in our history. We have done more toward bringing about the peace of the world than any other power in this century. Under these circumstances is there room for doubt that Abraham Lincoln would have approved the policy of McKinley and Roosevelt in maintaining our position as a world power, in increasing the size of our navy so that when we do intervene in international affairs we may exercise an influence commensurate with our greatness as a nation?

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION.

Finally, can there be any doubt where Abraham Lincoln would have stood in the issues which peculiarly distinguish the administration of Theodore Roosevelt? I refer to the struggle which he and his administration have made for the elimination from our business and political fabric of the corrupting influence of the unlawful business combinations and the demoralizing effect of disobedience to law by our great railroad and transportation companies. The one thing that distinguished Lincoln in all his life was the contention in favor of the equal administration and protection of the laws. From the soles of his feet through all that long frame to the top of his head, he was a democrat in the true sense of the word and opposed to privilege and class immunity. He was not an enemy of wealth lawfully accumulated. He welcomed and encouraged internal improvements, and of course favored prosperity developed by business enterprises and the combinations of capital, but he always exalted in the consideration of every issue the rights of the individual, and especially of the humbler members of society, who were least able to protect themselves.

Therefore, we may know with certainty that cannot brook contradiction that in the struggle to make all business lawful, to take away from great corporate combinations the illegal privileges and immunities that official investigations have shown in many instances to prevail, Lincoln would have made the same good fight which has endeared Roosevelt to the same plain people of the country who upheld the hands of the martyred President through all the great trials of his administration.

Ambassador Jusserand spoke on the election of President Lincoln, the interest manifested abroad in his utterances in "that famous struggle between equally brave opponents with its various fortunes," Lincoln's humble birth and character and the feeling in France at the news of his death.

Governor Guild was assigned to the toast "Lincoln and National Development." He advocated strongly in favor of federalism, and said in part:

We are to some extent controlling corporations, but by all kinds of local legislation whose constantly varying form makes the profitable field of investment of to-day a desert of deficit to-morrow. Fair play and the protection of the public demand the establishment of a uniform system of corporation control by expert advisers under the supervision of the national government.

National law compels a corporation when it falls in business and ends its affairs to liquidate on the same basis in every state in the Union. Logic and common sense alike demand that not only when it goes out of business, but when it goes into business, it should be granted fair play and the same terms of organization no more, no less, in Maine as in Washington; in Louisiana as in Michigan.

Secretary Taft's afternoon and evening in Grand Rapids were strenuous. He arrived from Kansas City at 2.15 and the day's activities included a public reception at the Morton House, a reception and speech at the convention of the State League of Republican Clubs, a reception and speech under the auspices of the Taft Club at the Majestic Theatre, a social dinner at the home of Philo C. Fuller, an old college friend; the Lincoln Club dinner and address; and another dinner later in the evening.

An incident of the dinner to-night was the announcement that Senator William Alden Smith would not be a candidate for delegate-at-large to the Republican national convention, withdrawing in favor of John W. Blodgett, Michigan's member of the Republican National Committee.

Equal to New Duties.

1865

“WHETHER Mr. Lincoln would have been competent to deal with the questions which were presented after the war, in the reconstruction of the southern states,” says Hugh McCulloch, controller of the currency under Lincoln, “whether he would have exhibited the qualities of a statesman, is, I know, regarded by many as doubtful; but it is, I think, only fair to infer, from the ability which he displayed as president, that he would have been equal to the new duties which he would have been called to perform if he had completed the term for which he had been elected. He was well versed in constitutional law, his mind was well balanced, he was free from vindictiveness, and he was eminently patriotic. He would not have quarreled with his party, as his successor, Mr. Johnson, did. He had the confidence of the people and could, therefore, have given direction to reconstructive legislation.

“His aim would have been to bring about by honorable conciliation harmonious relations between the sections, to secure the supremacy of the government without interference with the reserved rights of the states. There is nothing in his record to indicate that he would have favored the immediate and full enfranchisement of those who, having been always in servitude, were unfitted for an intelligent and independent use of the ballot. In the plan for the rehabilitation of the south which he and his cabinet had partially agreed upon, and which Mr. Johnson and the same cabinet endeavored to perfect and carry out, no provision was made for negro suffrage.

Left to Congress.

“This question was purposely left over for further consideration and for congressional action, under such amendments of the constitution as the changed condition of the country might render necessary. From some of his incidental expressions and from his well known opinions upon the subject of suffrage and the states to regulate it, my conclusion is that he would have been disposed to let that question remain as it stood before the war; with, however, such amendments of the constitution as would have prevented any but those who were permitted to vote in federal elections from being included in the enumeration for representatives in congress, thus inducing the recent slave states, for the purpose of increasing their congressional influence and power, to give the ballot to black men as well as white.

“Nor would Mr. Lincoln have been vindictive against the masses who had been in arms against the government. Educated, as the people of the south had been, in the doctrine that the union was a confederation of states, from which any state or number of states might withdraw when, in the opinion of a majority of their citizens, it had failed to accomplish the object for which it was formed, he would not have regarded the attempted secession as being treason, in the ordinary acceptance of the term; nor would he have regarded as traitors any of the southern people except those who, while continuing to hold federal offices and to draw their pay from the federal treasury, used the influence of their position to overthrow the government whose servants they were. For them he would have favored no forgiveness, to them he would have granted no pardons. They were guilty of treason, for which there could be no palliation. These, however, were comparatively few.

Were Revolutionists.

“The war on the part of the south was revolutionary. It was not only so considered by other nations but by those who administered the government after the war was ended. Officers of high standing in the confederate army were appointed to federal offices by Gen. Grant. The vice president of the confederacy, when subsequently in congress, was treated with great respect by both parties. Two of the members of the present cabinet, and nearly every one of the southern senators in the last and present congress, held distinguished civil or military positions under the confederate government. This would not, could not have been the case had they been guilty of treason. They were revolutionists, not traitors, and as such they would have been treated by Mr. Lincoln.

“Nor would Mr. Lincoln have appointed to southern offices such men as, unfortunately, were appointed, whose chief mission seemed to have been to enrich themselves, overload the states with debt, and perpetuate the sectional discord which had always to some extent existed, and which had been aggravated and intensified by the war. His sympathy was as broad as his patriotism. Devoted to the union—not merely a geographical union but a true national union—his aim would have been to build up the waste places, give new life to southern industry, and bind together north and south, the people of the country and the whole country, by ties of mutual respect, brotherhood, and interest.”

WILLIAM

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Jan 16

The Nation, September 7, 1916.

Sample

While the log cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born is being dedicated by a Democratic President of Southern birth—in itself a fitting symbol of the reunited nation for which the martyr President strove—there is one way in which Americans may fitly honor the memory of Lincoln, at any distance from Hodgenville and every day in the year. This is by refraining from the temptation to drag the august name as an argument into our own little partisanship and prejudices. It is one of the real tests of Lincoln's greatness that his memory stands unscathed by all the foolish and narrow and ignoble things that Lincoln would have done if he were now alive and actively engaged in working with the fellows on our side of the fence, which, of course, there isn't the slightest doubt he would now be doing. From the ward politician who knows that Lincoln would have voted for him for Alderman and the national politician who knows just how Lincoln would have pacified Mexico, the name of Lincoln might well be delivered. After all, he did his share of duty during his lifetime, and passably well. That should be enough. When it comes to suffrage or the eight-hour day or prohibition or the Pure Food law, there is only one safe prediction to make of what Lincoln would have done with regard to these matters. He would have cracked his knuckles and told a good story.

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WHAT LINCOLN WOULD HAVE SAID TO DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

BY DR. WILLIAM E. BARTON

Author of "The Soul of Abraham Lincoln," etc.

WE can not be in any serious doubt concerning the attitude of Abraham Lincoln toward the essential problems involved in the conference called for a reduction of world armaments. We can, with slight modification to fit this particular issue, form from his own utterances something not unlike what he might have said.

First, he would have said that one-half the world—the peace-loving half—can not safely disarm and leave the other half—the belligerent half—armed to the teeth. He might have said, much as he said in 1858:

"If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it. We are now past the third year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to war.

"In my opinion, that object will not be attained until we face the issue and pass it. 'A house divided against itself can not stand.' The governments of this world can not permanently endure half on a war basis and half on a peace basis. I do not expect the world to go to ruin—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.

"Either the opponents of war will prevent its recurrence, and will place it where the public mind will rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or the advocates of armament will push it forward till all the world shall be in arms."

He might set forth in unmistakable terms America's own love of peace, and freedom from militaristic designs. He might say that America alone, however peace-loving, can not solve this problem. He might say, as he said in the closing paragraph of his first inaugural address:

"In your hands, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of world-peace or world-war. This government will not assail you. You can have no conflict in which we are concerned without yourselves being the aggressors. I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies."

He would surely have contemplated with heart-felt sadness the ten million graves in Europe, in which number America has a relatively small but nobly honorable share, and he might have said:

"It is for us, the living, to be dedicated to the unfinished work which they who fought have thus far so nobly advanced.

"It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that these nations, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

He would not have permitted the conference to forget that theirs was a heavy responsibility: He might have said as he said to Congress in December, 1862:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our countries. We can not escape history. We of this conference shall be remembered in spite of ourselves.

"No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. We know how to save the world from future wars. The world knows we know how to save it. In giving security and freedom to the nations that need protection, we assure freedom to those that are secure. We shall here nobly save or meanly lose, the last, the best, hope of earth."

He could not have ended his address in terms less earnest, less nobly sincere, less passionate, less religious, than these of his second inaugural:

"The Almighty has His own purposes. * * * Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe unto the man by whom the offense cometh! * * * The judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether. * * *

"With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in; to bind up the wounds of the nations; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do that which may achieve a just and lasting peace with all nations."

Lincoln and Disarmament.

Editor of The Record:

As Lincoln's birthday treads so closely on the heels of the Washington Conference, it may be well to connect the two events in the minds of your readers by considering what would have been the attitude of the Great Liberator to the leading question of today.

Was not Lincoln, above all things, a peacemaker? Listen to his description of himself and his work as he gave it at Trenton:

I shall do all in my power to promote a peaceful settlement of all our difficulties. The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am, none who would do more to preserve it.

Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

He realized to the full the fatuity and futility of war, and wrote: "All dreaded it—all sought to avert it."

Were he living today, what would be his attitude? Would he be one of those timidly cautious reactionary patriots, repeating worn-out platitudes as to our "friendship isolation," and clamoring for avoidance of alleged entanglements? Or would he rather commend and counsel all efforts to disentangle international difficulties by getting together in a permanent league of peace and justice?

Doubtless he would be now what he was 60 years ago—pre-eminently a forward-looking, open-minded, generous-souled man, believing that America should be "Destiny's Leader," not an abject follower in Europe's effete failure of militarism and its main supporter, secret diplomacy.

"Get together!" would have been his motto.

Listen to his mature advice, almost his dying words:

We can only succeed by concert. It is not "Can any of us imagine better?" but, "Can we all do better?" The dogmas of the quiet past are inapplicable to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. "We must disenthrall ourselves." "We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth."

These words might well be addressed to the United States Senate today.

EDWARD BERWICK.

Pacific Grove, Calif., Feb. 8, 1922.

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Sacramento Herald

Feb. 11-1922

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EDWARD BERWICK

Pacific Grove.

What Would Lincoln Do?

What counsel would he offer in the midst of our economic crisis? What warnings would he give? What hope would he offer?

WHAT would Abraham Lincoln do in the midst of the collapse of business, bread-lines and soup-kitchens, mortgage-laden farms, closed banks, and world-wide depression?

Guessing may seem to be a futile, not to mention an arrogant venture. But, as I think of Lincoln's life and work, these questions simply will not down. I remember that he was more than a man of his times, that he belongs to the ages, and so do those principles of unselfishness, fair-dealing, and good will by which he tested his every act.

I AM sure, first of all, that, in the midst of an economic crisis like ours, he would place human values far above property values. He never appeared to be much interested in property, nor even in money. While the young men about him at Springfield were buying farms, developing property, and speculating in investments he was collecting meager fees from his law practice and looking forward to a career of public service. In a formal paper that concerned his financial position he did not hesitate to admit about some of his creditors, "He owed me some trifle," or, "The exact amount I never knew." And he wrote in 1860, during his first campaign for the presidency, "I could not raise \$10,000 if it would save me from the fate of John Brown."

So, it seems certain that between machines and men or money and men, Lincoln would always choose men. The shibboleth of American individualism could not bewitch him, nor could the straw man of communism scare him. He would ferret out the human values in any plan for relief, and I am inclined to think he would have little patience with those who contend that unemployment insurance (the hated dole) would pauperize our people. Certain I am that he would have some homely anecdote to tell about our generosity when we swell up with pride because we have given a pittance to feed and clothe those who are no more to blame than we are for the state of things.

SECOND, I am sure that Lincoln, far from abandoning his theory that the Declaration of Independence promised men, all men, equality of opportunity, would have extended and enlarged his theory in the face of new conditions. When he was making his first campaign for the presidency, leaders of his party in the East called his contention "a sectional aspect of the slavery question." A powerful Republican newspaper, the Philadelphia American and Gazette, declared that the issues of the campaign, contrary to the statements of Lincoln, were the protection of industry, "economy in the conduct of government, homesteads for settlers on the public domain, retrenchment and accountability in the public expenditures, appropriations for rivers and harbors, a Pacific railroad, and a radical reform in government." But such in-

Epworth, Ill. Feb 13, 1932
By T. OTTO NALL

fluence did not swerve him from his purpose of assuring the Negro equality of opportunity in the territories.

Many of us have thought, perhaps, that his passion for equality was confined to the Negro. That this was not the case is evident from a speech that he delivered on the Fourth of July, following his nomination for the Senate. He was praising those "iron men," fathers and grandfathers of men and women then living, who had fought for equality in the American Revolution.

"We have among us," he said, "perhaps half our people who are not descendants at all of these men; they are men who have come from Europe—German, Irish, French, and Scandinavian—men who have come from Europe themselves, or whose ancestors settled here, finding themselves our equal in all things.

"If they look back to trace their connection with those days by blood, they find they have none; they cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel they are part of us; but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence, they find that those old men say that 'we hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal,' and then they feel that that moral sentiment taught in that day evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh, of the men who wrote the Declaration; and so they are."

Could he have looked down through the years and seen men, women, and children becoming the slaves of machines, he would have found something else to "hit hard." Speaking at Milwaukee during his first presidential campaign, he had some caustic things

to say about the theory that makes the working class "mudsills" on which to rest the structure of the upper class. "According to that theory," he said, "a blind horse upon a treadmill is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be—all the better for being blind, that he could not kick understandingly." And he added, in a vein that is strangely prophetic of our machine age: "A Yankee who could invent a strong-handed man without a head would receive the everlasting gratitude of the 'mudsill' advocates."

How such an attitude toward the rights of labor would express itself in the midst of depression in industry and widespread unemployment is, of course, merely a matter of conjecture. While Lincoln said, "Thank God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike," he did not believe in a laborer's war against capital. He did not see the necessity for a struggle between the owning and working classes. It is my guess that, if he were one of the nation's leaders at the present moment, he would favor a larger and larger coöperation between owners and workers in industry. Absentee ownership on the stock-market would meet as bitter condemnation from him as profiteering in the stock-market suffered at his hands during the trying days of the Civil War. He would assail the patriotism of those who profited while their fellows perished in a time of crisis, just as he rebuked those who, in the words of the Chicago Tribune, were "clothed in purple and fine linen, wore the richest laces and jewels and fared sumptuously every day."

THIRD, I am confident that he would oppose the imperialistic dreams of our super-patriots. Seward, in campaigning for Lincoln, described the glories of the future American empire, with its frontiers pushed to the Arctic Ocean, with Canada a member of the Union, with the Latin-American republics reorganized and formed into a federation with the United States (the capitol at Mexico City) at the head. Lincoln did not share such silly dreams. His attitude toward such policies had been stated when he opposed President Polk's Mexican War, declaring that "the war with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President." He was called a Benedict Arnold and was not reelected to Congress. But he did not retreat.

It would be foolish to try to construct from this Lincoln's probable attitude toward our vast foreign trade, war debts, and the moratorium. But we may be sure that he would place the rights of the jute miner in India, the iron worker of Germany, the cab-driver of London, the sheep-raiser of the Argentine on a par with the rights of workers in the United States.

How I wish that he were here! And even more, that the politicians who use his name so glibly would do a little speculating about what he would do if he were in our midst.

THE PATRIOTS OF PEACE

(Reflections on Our Cover)

No brave deeds have they done on the battlefield where cannons blaze and men die valiantly, but their patriotism, no less intense and far more enduring, has prompted them to labor in laboratories and factories, mines and workshops, studios and classrooms, hospitals and homes. They are the patriots of peace.

Builders they are, not destroyers. Some of them have built with brick and stone. Some have built their dreams into human lives. All have labored, with a devotion and courage that the soldier cannot surpass, that their countrymen might live.

GLENN RECITES WHAT LINCOLN WOULD DO NOW

Shows How Different Is the Administration.

Springfield, Ill., May 22.—[Special.]
—Addressing the Illinois bankers today, former Senator Otis F. Glenn assailed the policies of the Washington administration. He drew a comparison of what has been accomplished under the recovery program with a hypothetical analysis of what Abraham Lincoln would have done in a like crisis.

Lincoln, he said, would have approved of America's withdrawal from the Philippine Islands, would have urged closer relations with Canada, would cultivate the South American territory and draw closer to our neighbors in this section of the world.

"Born and reared on a farm," he said, "Lincoln would use his common sense to solve their difficulties. He would never plow under a foot of corn, wheat, or cotton, or kill a pig, or destroy its carcass so long as a destitute person in all America needed a garment or a helpless child was crying for food.

Blue Eagle to Johnson.

"He would cry out against the Bankhead law that would punish the American farmer who, owning his land, was guilty only of farming it in his own way. He would know that with its enactment and the licensing of farmers—gone would be the independence of 40,000,000 Americans and nearly would be serfdom.

"He would denounce the NRA as the biggest farce ever imposed upon a free people in time of peace and would say to Gen. Johnson, 'You are a patriotic, high minded, strenuous American. You have earned and shall have a permanent vacation. Good-by. You have done your part. I give you the Blue Eagle. Don't forget to take it with you.'

"He would oppose the efforts of those who would destroy all hope of legitimate profit and thereby American genius, invention, and initiative.

Would Aid Consumer.

"He would condemn the abolition of the anti-trust laws, the destruction of small business men and manufacturers, the monopoly of huge combinations, and demand that healthful competition in business and manufacturing be encouraged rather than abolished.

"In the gigantic struggle between capital and labor in the national capital he would realize that a third party eventually pays the bills and would strengthen and invigorate the representation of the consumer.

"Knowing how high minded but how futile is the hope that we shall never again be menaced by war, he would build an American navy second to none in the world. He would approve the position of President Roosevelt in this regard.

"As a logical and necessary thing he would reduce rather than expand the functions of the various governmental bodies.

For War on Graft.

"He would see that the cost of education had gone beyond the ability

of the people to pay—he would see that there are now too many frills and fads in our schools—too many monumental buildings and extravagant auditoriums, swimming pools, athletic stadiums, and dancing classes.

"Lincoln would demand that graft and spoils be driven from every governmental activity and especially that those who despoiled the funds allocated for relief of those in distress be promptly punished.

"He would deplore the repudiation by our government of its solemn obligations and feel it was a poor example for a great and solvent nation to set for its citizens.

"He would continue unimpaired the doctrine of protection for American industry, labor and agriculture.

"He would demand that congress resume its duties as a free and non-subservient department of government."

Warns Against Dreamers.

Glenn deplored federal assumption of authority over state governments and concluded:

"To those misguided, unsound, impractical dreamers who in this time of crisis would have America look to the minarets of Russia for her salvation, I would say instead look to the king of England for your inspiration.

"Not in the fancies of the goddess of revolutionists of Russia lies America's salvation. Instead, it lies at the end of the paths of simplicity—of common sense, individual initiative, personal freedom, observance of the constitution."

Secretary Pictures Him in New Deal Role; Governor on Opposite Side

Springfield, Ill., Feb. 12.—(UP)—Secretary of the Interior Ickes and Governor Talmadge, of Georgia, inaugurated Lincoln's Birthday today with exactly opposite interpretations of how the rail splitter would meet present-day problems.

Since they disagree on practically every other political subject, not one of their auditors at a Lincoln Day celebration last night expected them to agree. To Talmadge, a bitter enemy of the New Deal, Ickes is "the chinch bug from Chicago," and to Ickes, Talmadge is "his chain gang Excellency."

"No President in history assumed such powers as did Abraham Lincoln," said Ickes, inviting comparison with President Roosevelt.

Talmadge, who spoke first, let his shock of black hair fall over his eyes as he cried:

"Would that we had a man like Lincoln in the White House today. If we did, he would never allow a brain-trusters' creed to teach the doctrine that you can boondoggle our way back to prosperity."

No Exchange of Epithets

Ickes smiled. The crowd of 2500 applauded.

There was no exchange of the bitter epithets the two men have hurled at each other since the Georgia Governor revolted against the New Deal. But there was an air of tension when they met and dined at Governor Horner's mansion.

"How do you do?" asked Ickes curtly, extending his hand.

"How do you do, sir?" drawled Talmadge, shaking hands lightly.

Horner sat between them at dinner, and when they posed for pictures. He separated them, too, at the meeting.

A photographer wanted to pose them for a picture shaking hands.

Talmadge said he was willing.

"I will not," said Ickes.

Ickes was vehement in his delivery as he compared attacks on Lincoln to attacks on President Roosevelt.

Sees "Slavery" Today

"Personally," he said, "I happen to believe that Lincoln's interest in economic freedom would be keenly alert at a time when men and women everywhere are struggling for that social and economic security, without which, in very truth, they are still slaves."

"Just to the degree that the established order is based upon special and, therefore, unfair privileges, do the jackals of that order resort to the garbage heap for material with which to bespatter the leader who is fighting to improve conditions."

Talmadge offered his interpretation of the Emancipator:

"Lincoln knew that Government was not made for the specific purpose of taxing its people to the point where they were either paupers or thieves."

"Lincoln knew that patronage was the greatest enemy of all Governments."

"Lincoln knew that every citizen had to earn his living to appreciate his Government."

Talmadge was the first Southern Governor to speak at a Lincoln anniversary program in this country where Lincoln spent his youth and young manhood.

U. S. Leaders Believe Lincoln Would Have Backed New Deal

(By The Associated Press)
WASHINGTON, Feb. 12.—What would Abraham Lincoln do if he were President today?

That question evoked varied answers from legislators. Reporters toured Capitol Hill, asking what position Lincoln would take on current issues. Following are some of the replies:

Speaker Byrns, Democrat, Tennessee—"Lincoln would move toward the same humanitarian goal as we have, but no one knows how he would proceed."

Senator Barbour, Republican, New Jersey—"While Lincoln's approach to our present-day problems would have all the warmth of a great humanitarian, the sanity and good old-fashioned common sense of his policies would make for the predominant contrast between his administration and that of the New Deal."

Things Too Complicated

Senator Wagner, Democrat, New York—"As the emancipator, Lincoln abolished political slavery. Today he would abolish economic slavery."

Senator Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan—"It would be palpably unfair to a man like Lincoln to undertake saying what he would do in a day like this."

Representative Snell, Republican, New York—"Things are too complicated to tell what Lincoln would do."

Representative Bloom, Democrat, New York—(Who was asked what position Lincoln would take on current constitutional questions) "He was a great stickler for law. Once the Supreme court had spoken he would follow its decisions."

Representative Marcantonio, Republican, New York—"Lincoln was a fighter, and not the kindly old cream puff orators make him. He would say to the Supreme court, 'You call out your marshals to enforce your split decisions and I'll

call out the army and navy to enforce the will of the people.'"

Times Are Different

Senator Couzens, Republican, Michigan—"Times are too different. It's hard to say what a Lincoln of the present day would do."

Senator Vlack, Democrat, Missouri—"Lincoln criticized the court's decision in the Dred Scott case but he did not question its constitutionality. No doubt he would meet the problems of today with the same courage he met those of his day."

Senator Johnson, Republican, California—"He would be the first to go to the relief of the hungry, the needy and the suffering."

Senator Pope, Republican, Idaho—"He overturned one decision of the supreme court with a Civil war, and I doubt if he would permit legal concepts to stand in the way of humanitarian progress in a war against depression."

"Leave Me Out"—Garner

Representative Wadsworth, Republican, New York—"No matter how different Lincoln might find the present day from his own, whatever he did he would not be lacking in character."

Representative Sumners, Democrat, Texas—"Lincoln would recognize the fact that with our frequent 5-4 decisions, one human being on the supreme court determines what is the Constitution."

Senator Logan, Democrat, Kentucky—"He would be in favor of all social legislation for if ever there was a man whose heart was with the people it was Lincoln."

Senator Hastings, Republican, Delaware—"I couldn't answer that right off, now could I?"

Senator Norris, Republican, Nebraska—"Lincoln would be like me, he wouldn't know what the hell to do!"

Vice-President Garner, Democrat, Texas—"Now you leave me out of this."

N.O. ITEM FEB. 12-1936

Lincoln in the Eyes of Legislators

Great Emancipator's Course on Current Issues, Were He in White House, Object of Symposium

MANY SEE HIS AIM HUMANITARIAN GOAL

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Great Stickler for Law

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Not Lacking Character

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What Lincoln Would Do

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Republicans

Senator Barbour, New Jersey: "While Lincoln's approach to our present-day problems would have all the warmth of a great humanitarian, the sanity and good old-fashioned common sense of his policies would make for the predominant contrast between his administration and that of the New Deal."

Senator Norris, Nebraska: "Lincoln would be like me, he wouldn't know what to do!"

Senator Johnson, California: "He would be the first to go to the relief of the hungry, the needy and the suffering."

Representative Wadsworth, New York: "No matter how different Lincoln might find the present day from his own, whatever he did he would not be lacking in character."

Representative Marcantonio, New York: "He would say to the Supreme Court, 'You call out your marshals to enforce your split decisions and I'll call out the army and navy to enforce the will of the people.'"

Democrats

Vice President Garner, Texas: "Now you leave me out of this."

Senator Pope, Idaho: "He overturned one decision of the Supreme Court with a civil war, and I doubt if he would permit legal concepts to stand in the way of humanitarian progress in a war against depression."

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Solid Honesty of Lincoln Advocated for Politicians

6 11 June 2/1/1
"If politicians of today would try some of the plain, solid honesty of Abraham Lincoln, they would find it would serve their best political interests," Dr. William Mather Lewis, president of Lafayette College told members of the Lawyers Club of Buffalo at their annual Lincoln dinner in the main ball room of Hotel Lafayette last night.

"Lincoln taught us to go back to the sources," he said. "He lived in a critical time just as we do. Every period in the history of the world is a critical period, with civilization always on trial.

"Half of the trouble with America today is that our political leaders have the jitters."

William J. Flynn, president of the club, and Paul J. Batt, county attorney and secretary, spoke briefly. Guests of honor included Dr. Robert P. Bapst, superintendent of schools; Rabbi Joseph L. Fink of Temple Beth Zion and the Rev. Francis A. O'Malley, president of Canisius College.

Some 300 lawyers of Buffalo and nearby Western New York attended the dinner.

Says Lincoln's Doctrine Bars Foreign Isms

Governor Green Speaker
At Annual Pilgrimage
Banquet Of Legion.

Over 500 Hear Talk

Ceremony Held At Tomb,
Wreaths Placed To
Honor Emancipator.

Pictures on Pages 6 and 7.

"No alien 'ism' can imperil the freedom and solidarity of this country so long as Abraham Lincoln's doctrine of tolerance, justice and equality for all is followed," Governor Dwight H. Green declared last night at the seventh annual American Legion Lincoln tomb pilgrimage banquet at Leland hotel.

An overflow crowd of more than 500 persons attended the banquet and taxed hotel accommodations to the limit. The Legion pilgrimage and ceremonies highlighted the day's activities of several other veterans and patriotic groups in honor of the 132nd anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

Governor Green Speaker.

Governor Green, introduced by William F. Waugh, Chicago, department commander of the Legion, renewed the theme of the pilgrimage of a powerful defense and action against subversive groups when he said:

"If the spirit of Lincoln could speak tonight, it would bid us build a strong defense on land and sea and in the air against aggression from without. But it would also warn us to build local, state and national governments in which our people would have faith, and for the preservation of which they would fight as valiantly as in war.

Lincoln An Inspiration.

"You who journeyed to this shrine of free government and derived from it your inspiration of freedom and equality for all, you are united in the common purpose of defending this nation from any forces which would attack it from within and seek to destroy our American way of life by subversive words and acts.

"But we know that no alien ism

can menace our freedom and our solidarity so long as we follow the way pointed out by the immortal Lincoln, and so long as we preserve the liberty, equality and opportunity for all which were his articles of a worthy life.

"If in these days of uncertainty and fear we need the benefit of wisdom, let us turn to the spirit of Abraham Lincoln for the common counsel and inspiration which will protect our birthright of freedom."

Striking the pilgrimage theme first was Mr. Waugh as he placed a wreath at the tomb. He said:

"Lincoln was almost prophetic in his utterances. More than a hundred years ago, Jan. 27, 1837, the man who was to be our Civil war president, told a group of young people here in Springfield that all the armies of the old world, directed by all the Napoleons, could never make a successful invasion of this country. Any trouble to disrupt our normal way of life must come from within."

Warns Of Subversive Groups.

At the banquet Commander Waugh reiterated his plea for action against subversive groups, saying:

"The American Legion has repeatedly warned our people against the activities of subversive groups who seek to destroy our government from within. We believe that Lincoln would applaud our efforts to awaken our country to a realization of the full import of the dangers by which it is menaced.

"We know that today 'right is might' only when it is prepared to defend itself with the power of a two ocean navy, a modern and mechanized army, and a superior air force. In that way only will the principles of justice, freedom and democracy be preserved for us and for our posterity."

Sandburg On Radio.

Maintaining the attack on internal friction, Carl Sandburg, famous poet, Spanish war veteran and Lincoln biographer, selected for the principal point of his address, delivered at the tomb over a nation-wide radio network, the onetime New Salem railsplitter's "House Divided" speech made in the state capital eighty-three years ago. Sandburg said in part:

"Since his House Divided speech, slowly and gradually Lincoln has become what might be termed the foremost patron saint, the world over, of republican government and what we generally term democracy. . . . Three years after his famous speech, the storm broke, the whirlwind raged, war came and destiny named him to be the central voice."

Place Wreaths.

Sandburg was introduced on the radio network by Department Commander Waugh who stressed that national preparedness had been the

purpose of the American Legion since its inception twenty-two years ago. Waugh likened the present unprepared state of the United States to the time of Lincoln when civil strife threatened the country.

Early in the afternoon, following a parade through the business district, the Legion and affiliated organizations placed wreaths at the tomb.

Presenting wreaths were: Commander Waugh for the department of Illinois, American Legion; Mrs. Joseph Mieczynski, North Chicago, president of the American Legion auxiliary, department of Illinois; Mrs. Mucklestone, Chicago, past

national president of the American Legion auxiliary; Dr. C. L. Lambert, Canton, grand chef de gere, department of Illinois, Forty and Eight; and Mrs. Agnes Reynolds, Peoria, chapeau departmentalle, Eight and Forty. The group was introduced by L. W. Esper, commander Springfield post 32, American Legion.

The day's program opened with an informal breakfast at the Leland hotel. From 3 to 5 p. m. members of the Legion auxiliary entertained pilgrimage guests at a tea at the hotel. Following the breakfast the group made a pilgrimage to New Salem state park and other Lincoln shrines in Springfield.

Thousands Visit Tomb.

The center of the day's activities was the granite tomb in Oak Ridge cemetery, and throughout the day thousands of persons streamed through the marble lined interior, paused briefly before the red marble sarcophagus decorated with floral tributes and wended their way to the exit.

In addition to the wreaths presented by the veterans' organizations were a tribute from President Roosevelt and a floral offering from the people of Mexico sent by President Manuel Avila Camacho.

References to nazism and Hitler appeared during the addresses of veterans preceding the principal speech at the Leland hotel. Speakers drew comparisons between democracy and totalitarianism and the political ideals of Lincoln.

Following the speaking program,

Pilgrimage

Continued on Page 4, Column 3.

Lincoln Would Be 'Astonished' At Today's 'Bossism' in U. S.

CHICAGO, Feb. 12 (P)—Abraham Lincoln would be "sorry" and "astonished" at today's "blatant bureaucracy and bossism which seek to rule in this country," says Illinois' Governor, Dwight H. Green.

In a Lincoln Day speech extolling the great emancipator on the eve of his 134th birth anniversary, Governor Green asserted that winning the war was the nation's foremost consideration, but there were "two particularly imminent dangers to our liberty on the home front—bureaucracy and bossism."

Governor Green declared that "bossism is much older in American life than the institution of bureaucracy," but it "had little effect on national life until it entered an unholy agreement with the federal bureaucracy 10 years ago." . . .

Through the alliance, the Governor said at a dinner sponsored by the G. O. P. State Central Committee, millions of Americans not living in large cities have been made "vassals of corrupt political machines which they have no power to choose or refuse.

"Bureaucracy and bossism, work-

ing hand in hand, have built for themselves during the last 10 years a domain of wealth and power that has never been known in history, except perhaps, in ancient Rome.

"I could name cities and names to show the extent of bossism throughout America; but that should not be necessary when we have here in Chicago probably one of the most powerful, corrupt and vicious forms of bossism to be found anywhere in free America. . . ."

Describing Lincoln as "one of us, who rose from the soil of our pioneer Prairie State to save his country, Governor Green declared that "I cannot but help think with what sorrow, what astonishment would that great humanitarian view the blatant bureaucracy and bossism which seek to rule in this country today, and with what horror would he see the grasping power-hungry bosses and bureaucracy."

He said that "the best and perhaps only solution to the bureaucracy-bossism problem lies with the Republican Party—the party of Abraham Lincoln."

2/12/43

Lincoln Had Same Problems That Leaders Are Facing Today

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 12. (INS)—Abraham Lincoln didn't have the modern blessing of radio and the like nor did his northern armies fight with jeeps, tanks or planes.

But he had all of the problems that face leaders of today.

Soldier voting rose to plague him. Torture by armed men in military service grieved and angered him. Freedom of the press found in him a champion. Race hatred reared its head with the Jews as victims. His generals failed to act with the speed he believed necessary and justified.

Today, on his one-hundred thirty-fifth birthday anniversary, his letters and his speeches of years ago reveal his views on problems of today.

What of torture as that recently revealed to have been inflicted upon American prisoners by the Japanese?

On Feb. 7, 1865, President Lincoln wrote to one Lieutenant Commander Glenn, in charge of a military post at Henderson, Ky.

His letter follows:

"Complaint is made to me that you are forcing Negroes into the military service, and even torturing them—riding them on rails and the like—to extort their consent. I hope this may be a mistake. The like must not be done by you, or by anyone under you. You must not force Negroes any more than white men. Answer me on this."

What of race persecution?

In a letter to Maj. Gen U. S. Grant, written Jan. 21, 1863, General-in-Chief H. W. Halleck wrote in part:

"It may be proper to give you some explanation of the revocation of your order expelling all Jews from your department. The President has no objection to your expelling traitors and Jew peddlers, which I suppose, was the object of your orders; but as it in terms proscribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deemed it necessary to revoke it."

Soldier Vote

Soldier voting? On Oct. 24, 1864, President Lincoln addressed the
(Continued on Page 2, Column 3)

189th New York Regiment, saying in part:

"It is said we have the best Government the world ever knew, and I am glad to meet you, the supporters of that Government. To you who render the hardest work in its support should be given the greatest credit. Others who are connected with it, and who occupy higher positions, can be dispensed with, but we cannot get along without your aid. While others differ with the Administration, and, perhaps, honestly, the soldiers generally have sustained it; they have not only fought right but so far as could be judged from their actions they have voted right and I for one thank you for it."

Lincoln had to deal, too, with those who would have muzzled the press

The artist, F. B. Carpenter, who spent six months in the White House, told in his "six months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln, how a lady at a state "levee" asked the President to "suppress the infamous Chicago Times." After appealing fruitlessly to her sense of fair play, Mr. Lincoln finally said;

"I fear you do not fully comprehend the danger of abridging the liberties of the people. Nothing but the very sternest necessity can ever justify it. A government had better go to the very extreme of toleration than to do aught that could be construed into an interference with, or the jeopardize in any degree, the common rights of its citizens."

President Lincoln chafed continually under the inaction of the Union Army when commanded by Gen. George B. McClellan. McClellan, apparently, laid blame for this on the condition of the horses of his men. So Lincoln in exaspera-

tion, on Oct. 24, 1862, wrote McClellan as follows:

"I have just read your dispatch about sore-tongued and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?"

H. Wayne Serlined

2/12/44

Elmer T. Peterson

Just What Would Lincoln Do Now?

MY favorite character, with his brother John, stood at the edge of a crowd at Galesburg, Ill., one day in 1858, and listened to Abraham Lincoln debate with Stephen A. Douglas. Later he went to California and was in the army during the war crisis. He conceived an intense devotion to Abraham Lincoln and was a confirmed Republican therefore. Though he had been born abroad, his neighbors called him a "Yankee." His children were reared to have the greatest reverence for the railsplitter president and were steeped in the traditions of pioneering in Illinois and Iowa.

Later my favorite character followed the ups and downs of the Republican party, including Theodore Roosevelt's policies, for he was a forward-looker.

He particularly admired Teddy's saying that "every tub should stand on its own bottom," and the other policies of the "man with the big stick" which decisively rebuked socialism as well as predatory capitalism and emphasized the virtues of hard work, thrift, individual independence and self-reliance. When the McNary-Haugen bill came along, he opposed it because he wanted farming—his own occupation—to be free from governmental meddling and "shenanigans."

TO him the Republican party did not mean either standpattism or socialism. It meant genuine liberalism and progressivism. It meant only such government service as might provide a favorable climate in which the average citizen would have the best possible opportunity to make his own way by his own efforts and work out his own salvation. He believed that by adopting far-sighted and statesmanlike policies, without fear of temporary popular disfavor, our leaders could guide free enterprise into a more and more prosperous path, without resorting to subsidies, supports or gifts, so that they would be able to live a better life without surrendering any of their manly independence or running to Washington for doles. He knew that when government began to treat citizens like dependents and wards, that same government would have to control their lives and tell them what they could or couldn't do. And when that state of affairs was reached, liberty would be ended.

He believed that as civilization advances and becomes more complex, the government must increase its police powers, so that "laissez faire" could not mean unrestrained exploitation, monopoly or unfair trade practices. He went through the exciting days of the tariff discussions, and

the Sherman anti-trust agitation, the era in which the "malefactors of great wealth" were making excessive inroads on the welfare of the common people.

BUT he believed that we had the proper framework of government, and within that framework we could have progressive laws that would provide the greatest possible freedom and opportunity for the common man without giving the government the power of life and death over humanity—the power to hand out free subsidies, regiment the recipients, compel them to abide by "compliance" rules, etc. He knew that the law of supply and demand is never permanently defeated, and so he planned his own farming operations so that he would not have to throw his saleable produce against a national or world surplus. First of all he felt that a man's farm should be able to provide a living, irrespective of the value of cash crops, by diversifying, rotating, raising food for the family, etc. As a result of this policy he was not caught with unsaleable surpluses in the "hard times year" of 1893. In fact he was able to take a vacation trip to the Chicago World's Fair that year.

All these principles, which he followed out, were consistent and integral parts of the political and economic philosophy of Abraham Lincoln, who was a self-reliant, liberty-loving pioneer if there ever was one.

What would Abraham Lincoln do today if he were to contemplate the orgy of wild extravagance, government subsidies and the doctrine that "the world owes everybody a living?"

Possibly the majority of the people want to go through the experience. Possibly they crave such experiments, which were tried by Hamurabi 5,000 years ago, by Diocletian in the latter days of old Rome, and by demagogues ever since. But let not the present Republican leadership claim that they come by way of Lincoln's creed and faith.

If Lincoln Were Alive Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 7, 1951

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this week we are paying tribute to the memory of one of the greatest Americans and one of the greatest human beings of all times—Abraham Lincoln. What would Lincoln do if he were alive today and had to cope with the problems with which we are confronted? What would the Great Emancipator think or say about our present-day events if he were among the living?

A most interesting speculation on this subject is contained in a column by Walter Winchell, the noted columnist, which appeared several days ago. It is entitled "Abraham Lincoln in the Twentieth Century." I urge all Members of Congress to read this brief column.

[From the Washington Post of
February 9, 1951]

WALTER WINCHELL IN NEW YORK

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Wisdom is as enduring as time itself. Recurring storms sweep across history's horizon—but the sagacity of great men has the constancy of the sun and is as illuminating. The immortality achieved by prophets and sages does not stem solely from their past accomplishments. The sources of their everlasting glory are words and deeds that light up the future. The homage paid Lincoln has been inspired by the nobility of his tenets. He embodied mankind's brightest aspirations—and he fought with deep courage to make them a reality. The political and moral issues Lincoln faced differ in detail with current conflicts, but the principles involved have not changed. The Lincolnian concepts of the nineteenth century are applicable to twentieth century problems.

He was blessed with the moral strength that is so desperately needed in Washington today. Lincoln was one of the rare politicians who combined practical ability with moral ideals transcending political expediency. He could have compromised on the slavery issue and allowed the festering spiritual infection to afflict the Nation. But he refused to appease indecency. No man had a deeper devotion to peace. Yet he took drastic action when he discovered the conflict could not be reconciled amicably. Sometimes a leg must be amputated to save a life. Lincoln said this Nation could not exist half slave and half free, and that inexorable logic obviously applies to the world of 1951.

Men of little faith and less courage are always with us. They measure each challenge by the extent of their fears. They would surrender to the foes of peace in the name of peace. Lincoln knew amity could

not be purchased by blackmail. When his opponents threatened that his election would lead to the destruction of the Union, he shot back: "You say you will destroy the Union and the great crime will be upon me? That reminds me of a thief who holds a pistol to your head and mutters: 'Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you—and then you will be the murdered.'" .

One of the most disgraceful current episodes is the attempt of Communists here to use Lincoln's name for their own nefarious purposes. Just as a gangster disguises himself with an alias, so the Communists are using Lincoln's name for camouflage. Only the demented mentality essential to Communist fanaticism could believe democratic Lincoln would be an ally of despotic Stalin. You might as well expect an angel to shake the hand of the Devil.

Since atheism is a salient feature of communism, it is well to remember Lincoln's classic observation: "I never behold the stars that I do not feel that I am looking at the face of God. I can see how it might be possible for a man to look upon the earth and be an atheist, but I cannot conceive how he could look up into the heavens and say there is no God."

On the question of dealing with subversives, Lincoln made his position crystal-clear during the early days of the war. He did not believe freedom extended to treachery or that liberty included the right to destroy it. He boldly declared: "Under cover of liberty of speech and press the Copperheads hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert? I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy."

Lincoln also speaks in the debate now raging about whether a President can assume war powers during national emergencies without the consent of Congress. As many Chief Executives did before him—and after him—he dispensed with constitutional niceties when the survival of the Nation was at stake.

Lincoln assumed war powers directly after the guns of Gen. Pierre Beauregard fired upon Fort Sumter. It was 3 months later that Congress declared a state of war existed.

Front pages disclose political differences are rocking the Nation. But similar struggles were more savage during Lincoln's era. Although he attained the Presidency with a decisive majority in the electoral college, he had a minority of the popular vote. The Nation was split wide open on every major issue. As a result, the most shameful vituperation was leveled at President Lincoln by the press and politicians. Yet his faith in the people never wavered. His reaction to the political turmoil illustrated Lincoln's genius for stating the truth with humorous simplicity: "The people will decide. If they turn their backs to the fire and get scorched in the rear—they'll find they have to sit on a blister."

The words he delivered before a regiment in 1864 would be just as propitious if addressed to our troops in Korea: "I happen, temporarily, to occupy the White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each of you may have, through this free Government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this that the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthrights. This Nation is worth fighting for to secure such an inestimable jewel."

Lists Lincoln as Democrat 'Would Be Today'

If he were living today, Abraham Lincoln would be a Democrat, Elliot N. Walstead, Whitefish Bay, state Democratic chairman, declared Friday.

Walstead backed this contention with excerpts from Lincoln's writings and speeches in a Lincoln's birthday statement issued from party headquarters.

"The Republican party this last week has been following its annual custom of holding Lincoln birthday parties," Walstead said. "The Republicans claim Lincoln as their own; the assumption is that since he was a Republican 90 years ago he would be a Republican today, that parties never change."

Quotes 1859 Letter

Lincoln did not hold this view, Walstead said, quoting from a Lincoln letter of 1859 in which Lincoln said that the Democratic party as originally formed had been "devoted to the personal rights of men, holding the rights of property to be secondary only, and greatly inferior."

The opposing party of that early day had taken an opposite view, Walstead said, adding that it was "interesting to note how completely the two have changed hands as to the principle upon which they were originally supposed to be divided."

Walstead cited a speech Lincoln made before congress in 1861 and at the Wisconsin state fair at Milwaukee in 1859.

Gives Labor Priority

"Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital," Lincoln said. "Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

"Is this Republican or Democratic talk?" Walstead asked.

Walstead said that of most importance "in this day of congressional inquisition by the McCarthy element in the Republican party" is Lincoln's speech at Edwardsville, Ill., in 1858.

Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage, and you are preparing your own limbs to wear them," Lincoln said. "Accustomed to trample on the rights of those around you, you have lost the genius of your own independence, and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises."

Milwaukee Journal



Legend says that Lincoln and a cousin split 3,000 rails at Coles County, Illinois, in 1831. Few examples of the Rail splitter's art remain. One of the best is at Millville, Wood

If Lincoln Were President Today, by Bob Fain

He Would Meet Our Problems With Kindness Yet Carry A 'Big Stick' To Be Used

What would Abraham Lincoln do if he were in the White House today? Would he cower before communism? Or would he lead the country into an all-out war? What would he do about Formosa? Just what kind of 20th Century president would he make?

In the opinion of one of the nation's Lincoln experts, he would meet with kindness and mercy any problem which came his way. But he could and would summon as much stubbornness and independence as the occasion demanded.

The expert is William H. Townsend, Lexington attorney and author, who has one of the largest collections of Lincolniana now in private hands.

Probably no one is more surprised that Townsend is a Lincoln expert than Townsend himself. He grew up in the Salt River country of Anderson County. His neighbors were men who galloped beside Gen. John Hunt Morgan in his horse-powered blitzkriegs against the Union. These neighbors, understandably, referred to Lincoln as "that old so and so."

Not until Townsend came to Lexington to enter college did he learn there was another side to the Lincoln reputation. An interest in the Great Emancipator grew into what, for a less energetic person, would be a full-time job of writing and collecting.

Townsend has thought, written and collected Lincoln so long and

so industriously that his feelings about Lincoln probably are more correct than most anyone else's.

What, then, does Townsend feel Lincoln would do about:

Formosa—This is highly speculative. However, he probably would do about as the President and Congress are doing. Lincoln probably would view Formosa as he did Ft. Sumter. Most of his cabinet once voted to yield to Confederate demands and surrender the stronghold. Lincoln vetoed their views. He was shipping supplies when the fort was bombarded.

He saw that the surrender of this outpost would be moving the early battle line farther north.

Communism—Lincoln would view communism much as he

A revised edition of Townsend's "Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town" will be published this fall by the University of Kentucky Press. The work, published in 1929, is now a collector's item.

Other books by Townsend include "Abraham Lincoln, Defendant," "Lincoln the Litigant," "Lincoln and Liquor." He contributes frequently to magazines and newspapers.

Lexington Leader 2-11-55



ford County, about 10 miles from Versailles on the McCracken Road. Groups throughout the nation are honoring Lincoln this week. (Leader photo).

Kindness And Mercy, Whenever Needed

viewed other forms of treason and infidelity to the government. As to Communists on the homefront, those who were active and vocal would be promptly dealt with.

He was merciful, but he could be firm. His sympathy and mercy went largely to the underprivileged and the common people who didn't understand all about government and the causes of war.

On pardoning a deserter, he once said, "Must I take the life of this boy, who deserted in immaturity, and be tender with the wily agitator who got him to desert?"

He would have allowed to stand the verdict condemning the Rosenbergs to die as traitors.

Senator McCarthy—He would have approved many things McCarthy did but would have disapproved his methods of doing some things. He would recognize, as he did in his lifetime, that some people under certain circumstances are impossible to deal with gently.

He would call McCarthy in—Eisenhower didn't—and suggest a different method of doing some of these things. I say what I say because I know how many times Lincoln stood staunchly by gener-

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If Lincoln Were President

(Continued From Page 1)

als and certain government officials who had to deal harshly with traitors.

On occasion, however, he would suggest—and sometimes actually put into practice himself—other methods which proved equally, or even more, effective.

FHA Scandals—My only answer can be guided by what he did with contractors and other grafters during the war. He was unable to do as much as he would have liked because he didn't have bureaus and committees as presidents now have. He always was vigorously opposed to graft and especially to those who sold shoddy uniforms, shoes and a great deal of moldy, decayed food to the army.

His personality was naturally gentle. He dealt not only calmly but mercifully with persons more or less irresponsible. But Lincoln could be very stern when the occasion demanded.

He once pitched a man bodily out of his office by the seat of the pants. Orville Browning, senator from Illinois, went to see Lincoln one night. Lincoln was very much concerned about cotton speculation. He pounded his desk, says Browning, and said, "I am master!" He had a deceptive amiability people sometimes presumed on. They were surprised at his reaction when they went too far.

Russia—Lincoln would follow very much the line of the present government in maintaining a high state of readiness. He would be watchful but not belligerent. He would stand ready to protect our interests, and would have the means to do it.

I don't think he would follow Teddy Roosevelt's line. Their personalities were as far apart as any two presidents we've ever had. I think he would "speak softly and carry a big stick." But I don't think he would, as Teddy would have done, use the stick unnecessarily.

Taxes—Lincoln had little to do with taxes and finance. He had a very capable secretary of the Treasury—Chase—and he left those problems to him.

Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs—He would do what he felt was necessary to win any war he thought we were justified in fighting. That's just what he did in the Civil War. If he wasn't willing to permit the armies to go all the way, he wasn't willing to permit them to go at all.

Atomic Energy in Peace—Lincoln certainly would be interested in developing atomic power for peacetime uses, as much and as early as possible. I know he would have far more pleasure using it in peace than in war.

Schools and Roads—That's hard to say from anything he actually did. The government had little to do with either in those days. He certainly had driven ox teams over enough bad roads to appreciate good ones. He felt the need of an education badly enough to teach himself.

United Nations—I'm not sure if he would back the UN. But he couldn't have envisioned how close the airplane has brought us to everybody else.

Social Security and Old Age Assistance—His were the days of rugged individualism but I believe he would favor those things—to the extent of keeping people out of poor houses. He would allow them to remain with their families. Lincoln was extremely sympathetic to any form of human misfortune. Very few have endured more than he did during the early years of his life.

The Draft—I think he would have favored the draft and veterans benefits. He was very solicitous about soldiers. In his second inaugural address he spoke of the duty of the living to take care of "him who had borne the battle," and his widows and orphans.

Desegregation—Lincoln was not in favor of equality of races. He believed in the right of the Negro "to eat the bread which his own hand had earned." He said the Negro in this respect was the equal of any living man. That covers a lot of ground.

Except for freeing him, giving him the right to vote when qualified and guaranteeing to him what he called the "Negro's natural rights," I doubt if Lincoln would be the leader in anything further. By reason of his views on slavery, he was considered a radical. He was not an Abolitionist. He believed in trying to confine slavery to its then present limits. Lincoln believed slavery ultimately would become extinct of its own accord if so confined. The Southerners saw no distinction between this and abolition. They thought he was one of the biggest radicals the U. S. ever had seen.

Lincoln said on one occasion that events controlled him; he did not control events. He was not a crusader in the sense of introducing proposals or reforms, other than on the matter of slavery.

So there you have it. But, as Townsend said, it's a hard question to answer because times have changed so much.

Today, the 90th year after his death, the name of Lincoln carries enough prestige to close banks and government offices in observance of his birthday. In 1861, his name carried enough prestige to win only three votes in Fayette County and two in Lexington.

What Would Lincoln Have Done?

BY C. J. MOYNIHAN

Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1807—was assassinated on Good Friday, April 14, 1865, and died April 15, 1865. The background of his learning and accomplishments still confounds both researcher and philosopher in their efforts to relate learning with educational attainments and results. Robert Burns and William Shakespeare likewise divide opinions of men as to how it was possible for those of lowly estate and little formal education to speak and write matchless phrases which still make glow with fireplace-like beauty the imagination of enquiring minds, generation after generation.

Ultimately, however, Lincoln seems to stand apart and alone in the continuing sanctuary of immortality. The writer believes Lincoln's enduring place among the great characters of all eternity was due to his selfless dedication to the inalienable rights of, and dignity of mankind, not because of what he was at a particular time, but because of what man might become under the stimulation of proper leadership. He knew all the time what penalty would have to be paid by that

leadership—jealousy, envy, malice—sometimes even death if the cause was holy and just, even if unpopular. Today, he makes look silly and shameful the numerous detractors who with pen, voice and cartoon were scathing, sinful and vindictive in their poorly aimed poisoned arrows of cruelty toward his grim and perserving body and official personality aglow with Divine leadership.

Metaphorically speaking the loaves and fishes which were multiplied under his magic methods were to be shared by the multitudes comprising later generations, not by the generation of which he was a part.

His life symbolizes the continuous torture of having pressed to his lips again and again as bitter a

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● Lincoln

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cup as was ever pressed to the lips of Master or Saint.

A friend of the writer when discussing the present International situation and the danger of another World - War interrogated: "What would Abraham Lincoln have said or done on behalf of our Nation if he were alive today?"

We do know that the two objectives which he considered indispensable to America's growth as a Republic, and which he espoused on all occasions were an opposition to human slavery in any form and a supernal effort to preserve the Union under our Constitution. A great scholar has epitomized the Lincoln-Douglas debates as a forensic contest between principle and expediency with Lincoln who asserted slavery was morally wrong and irreconcilable with the dignity of man, arguing for principle, and Douglas who didn't care whether slavery was voted for or against, representing a policy of expediency.

The workingmen of Birmingham, England, understood well his attitude toward both government and men when he tersely stated his philosophy as follows:

"As I would not be a slave so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this to the extent of the difference is no democracy."

Were the spirit of the Great Emancipator to return to view the change in the America he once knew, that spirit would be enthralled at its present progress—a result he predicted if our Union were preserved and if men were permitted to practice the liberties of freemen.

An understanding glance at Russia would convince him that the land of the Savage Bear wasn't even "one-half free and one-half slave." Instead, a giant monolithic despotism brainwashing the minds of freemen, forcing them to memorize a philosophy of life, taught them they were blind servants of heartless masters; that God was an opiate to subdue the minds of men and that the machine and the bomb had replaced the sword, wrack and daggers of the hordes of Genghis Kahn; concentration camps where the supreme penalty of death by starvation or lethal instrumentality are constantly practiced against the non-conformist, by Pagan decrees issued by despotic yet ambitious triumvirates who hold their positions of absolute and dictatorial power as a result of assassinations committed against conspiring competitors. Such a stage-setting would surely convince the Great Emancipator that the world

(over)

today faces a more dangerous threat to freedom than challenged our Nation during the Civil War because today we face an Empire swiftly increasing its domination and power over millions of defenseless and benighted people who have no percentage or possibility of freedom.

On another occasion Lincoln knew how to speak forthrightly. His Second Inaugural Address was uttered from the steps of our National Capitol in an atmosphere fraught with danger. Nobody knew better than he that he was standing on a powder keg. Lord Charnwood says he spoke more piously than any other man of the entire world would have spoken. He was calloused to danger. His inner spirit was alive to Divine purpose. Read a part of what he said:

"Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of the other man's face, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purpose. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses, which in Providence of God must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?"

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may

soon pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said that's the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

The above words were not used with any spirit of vindictiveness toward his misguided fellow-Americans. Lord Charnwood briefly expresses Lincoln's feeling as follows:

"He has been able to free the slaves, partly because he would not hasten to this object at the sacrifice of what he thought a larger purpose. This most unrelenting enemy to the project of the Confederacy was the one man who had quite purged his heart and mind from hatred or even anger towards his fellow-countrymen of the South. The fact came to be seen in the South, too, and generations in America are likely to remember it when all other features of his statecraft have grown indistinct."

Lincoln would not have been discouraged over our present International dilemma. Recent history would apprise him of the fact that millions of Russian soldiers deserted to Hitler during the German-Russian war, simply because those deserting soldiers felt that nothing could be worse than their brutal subjection to conformity at the hands of bestial Dictators in Russia.

With Lincoln's experience dealing with his own Generals during the Civil War, and because of his always-patient attempts to effectuate an aggressive policy that would lead to victory, he would realize that the dumb and stupid acts of Chou en Lai and Mao Tse Tung, the Red Chinese leaders, when they were apprised that our Administration at Washington advised the world in 1950 that Formosa would not be defended by our armies, ships and planes, and that the Red Chinese leaders could have taken Formosa without resistance from America and used the latter island as a spring-board to commit the sneak attack at Pearl Harbor, landing in the Philippines the day after Pearl Harbor instead of invading South Korea, that because of the unstrategic action of the Red Leaders, Formosa and Japan, including Okinawa, to be used as a bastion to protect our West Coast from direct attack.

Abraham Lincoln would have supported, as Congress did, with all his heart and soul the action of President Eisenhower in sending our fleet and planes to Formosa strait where the action of our forces would be localized and the Red Chinese would be forced to permit the aid of American warships to evacuate the Chinese Nationalist soldiers and the civilian population remaining in the Tachen Islands.

The writer still opposes sending our troops to isolated and steamy jungles in Asia, but he does firmly believe that with the seething undercurrent of dissatisfaction daily manifest among the enslaved masses in Russia and among high

officials competing to use the wrench of despotism through assassination of ambitious leaders in their quest for more power, America is given an opportunity under favorable circumstances to retake or regain the leadership of the world in the cause of human freedom.

What Would Lincoln Tell Us?

Continued from Page 1

What would Lincoln be saying now in the present turmoil? He would be saying: "In times like the present men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity."

Further on in that message he wrote: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

Disenthrall! In the million or so words that Lincoln spoke and wrote of which we have a record, I think that's probably the only time he ever used that verb—disenthrall. A thrall in old Anglo-Saxon law was a man bound to the land. A serf. Enthrallled to the land. If he could break his bonds, if he could disenthrall himself, he would be free.

Lincoln was asking that Congress and the nation should break themselves loose from all the unholy bonds that tied them to the thoughts of the past, saying: "We must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

A minister in a delegation, meeting Lincoln, hoped "the Lord is on our side."

Lincoln: "I don't agree with you."

There was amazement. Lincoln continued: "I am not at all concerned about that, for we know that the Lord is always on the side of the right. But it is my constant anxiety and prayer that I and this nation should be on the Lord's side."

That he was a man of piety and of deep religious belief was conveyed to large numbers of people by unmistakable expressions in his speeches and messages. In proclamations, in recommendations of thanksgiving or of fasting or prayer, Lincoln had given the impression to a multitude that he might have a creed.

At a later time a clergyman sought to formulate such a creed from Lincoln's own words, chang-

ing the text merely to the extent of transposing pronouns from plural to singular, making other slight modifications, and prefixing the words: "I believe." These were parts of such a creed:

"I believe in Him, whose will, not ours, should be done.

"I believe the people of the United States, in the forms approved by their own consciences, should render the homage due to the Divine Majesty, for the wonderful things He has done in the nation's behalf, and invoke the influence of His Holy Spirit to subdue anger.

"I believe in His eternal truth and justice.

"I believe the will of God prevails; without Him all human reliance is vain; without the assistance of that Divine Being I cannot succeed; with that assistance I cannot fail.

"I believe I am a humble instrument in the hands of our Heavenly Father; I desire that all my works and acts be according to His will; and that it may be so I give thanks to the Almighty and seek His aid."

Noah Brooks, out of his close and continuous friendship with Lincoln, wrote of "something touching in his childlike and simple reliance upon Divine aid," especially in extremities of fateful events. Then, "though prayer and reading of the Scriptures was his constant habit, he more earnestly than ever sought that strength

which is promised when mortal help faileth."

TOMORROW — Glenn Kittler describes the unusual and unexpected results that came about when the Air Force experimented with a spiritual program for its new recruits.

(From the magazine Guideposts and copyright, 1956)

LENTEN GUIDEPOSTS

Lincoln Can Speak Now

By CARL SANDBURG

Could Lincoln tell us anything now in these troubled days? Perhaps I could deal with that question that I've been asked across the years, finding myself as time went on a little more able to answer it.

In December 1862, he sent a message to Congress in which he proposed that Congress should enact measures for buying the slaves in the border slave states and giving them freedom. In that message to Congress, which refused to enact his plan, he had the little sentence:

"In times like the present men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity."

He knew that in the Congress he spoke to there were men, too many of them, who did their thinking with their blood rather than their brain.



Carl Sandburg

Continued on Page 15, Column 5

Lincoln and 1958

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 19, 1958

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by a distinguished citizen of New Jersey's Sixth Congressional District, former Judge Henry S. Waldman of Elizabeth.

Speaking before the Lincoln Day dinner of the Union County Republican Organization, at Garwood, N. J., it seems to me that Judge Waldman captured in a particularly meaningful way the essential characteristics of President Lincoln. He has made those characteristics and qualities come to life by showing what they mean to us, the inheritors of the Lincoln tradition, during these difficult days of 1958.

ADDRESS OF FORMER JUDGE HENRY S. WALDMAN,
OF ELIZABETH, N. J., BEFORE LINCOLN DAY
DINNER

LINCOLN AND 1958

We can learn much from Lincoln in the conduct of our present-day affairs, both foreign and domestic. He was a man who loved peace, but was unwilling to purchase it at the cost of honor, decency, and principle. For instance, if he were dealing with Soviet Russia today, he would strive with might and main to reach an agreement with them on paramount issues. He would patiently explore every avenue of honorable compromise to achieve a lasting and durable peace. The idea of a nuclear war would be abhorrent to him.

And yet, we learn from his life, that he would rather face up to the terrible devastation of such a war than to have America in bondage and fealty to the sinister powers in the Kremlin. He would never yield to the threats of a slave state, nor would he abandon our brave allies, who, with us, are the last stronghold against the implacable forces of communism.

A man who courageously led a Nation through a great Civil War would never permit an alien power to subjugate and dominate the peace-loving people of the world.

If Lincoln were President in 1958 he would counsel both parties to be less partisan and more patriotic. Instead of invidious and base criticism, blame, and faultfinding, he would seek to have both parties adopt an American policy on matters of national defense and foreign issues. Our need is to keep America strong and united against the hostile aggressions of a remorseless enemy.

Lincoln found, while fighting a war, that divisive forces among our own people and our own leaders were hindering victory and giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Now we are living in difficult and troubled times that try men's souls. The need for national unity and solidarity transcends the cause of precinct politics. There is danger we might be so busy bearing down on one another that we will take small note of the adversary who already lurks at our gates. In one of Lincoln's great speeches he warned that America would never fall from without, but could be destroyed only from within.

Ever since the first sputnik was launched, a great and paralyzing fear has come over many Americans. We find it impossible to believe the advance of Russia in the fields of military and scientific achievement. We must remember that we Americans are a Nation of peaceful citizens, and we never favored large standing armies or sneak attacks.

We have always been in a state of demobilization. Hence, Republicans and Democrats alike have let down their guard and allowed Russia to momentarily terrorize the earth by shooting objects into outer space. When Lincoln was faced by an unwanted Civil War, he found we were horribly unprepared and utterly without an Army. He sought in vain for a general to stem the southern advance. From the Capitol he could see enemy troops, their flags and artillery in nearby Virginia. At one point they were 7 miles from Washington. And yet, Lincoln led the Union into an herculean effort; he had a supreme and indomitable faith; and eventually, despite pitiful slow starts, blunders, dissension and heartaches, he won the war; restored national unity; showed the world the dynamism and

faith of democracy and bound up the wounds inflicted in the struggle.

We Americans should cast aside our present inferiority complex and our colossal fear. We should never underestimate the potentials of our enemy, but remember this—America is a mighty, industrial giant, a country of inventive geniuses, and populated by people who do not yield easily no matter how strong the foe. If we are willing to work diligently and unrelentingly, sacrifice our pleasures in order to make missiles, and be sustained by a trust in God and a deep-rooted faith, we shall live eternally and proudly and enjoy the good land that is ours.

Above all, we shall have to stand behind our beloved President and give him our aid and support. If he is to be criticized, let it be in a constructive sense. Not like the days of Lincoln when he was savagely pounced upon during his administration by alleged friends and proven foes. In a democracy the right to criticize is essential. Yet it is a fallacy to say that all criticism is justified. If there is a democratic right to tear down a leader, there is also a greater right and reason to uphold and support him in times of peril.

Those of us who worship Lincoln today can never forget how he was maligned, molested and slandered by a large segment of the press and public of his day. I could cite example after example of the calumny and abuse that were his. Small wonder then that every picture of him shows the melancholy face, the wrinkled brow, the brooding spirit.

Lincoln was called a demon and an imbecile. The popular and sophisticated thing of the day was to ridicule him. Right after his first term, the voters gave him a Democratic and hostile Congress. This was interpreted as a repudiation of the great leader. There was a caucus of Republican leaders who wanted to take the war out of Lincoln's hands, and in 1864, when he was renominated for a second term, a backstage meeting of Republican leaders tried to force him to withdraw. All this and more did Lincoln endure, but with a faith that was biblical and prophetic, he stood like a rock amid the storms of time.

The burdens of the American presidency are enormous. There is never a rest from the cares of the office. The President, be he Lincoln or Eisenhower, is bound to be a serious and lonely man. I mean a loneliness that comes from the knowledge that no one can share the deep eminence upon which he is poised. No one can really share the burdens of what he has to carry.

Lincoln, who bore the enormous tasks of the Civil War, would tell us in 1958 to stand behind our President and give him our sympathetic understanding and encouragement. This is a time for greatness. This is the time to lay aside the trivial things that divide us. Let us be great and let us be grateful.

And with the spirit of the Immortal Lincoln hovering over us, and with his imperishable words pervading our thoughts, this shining Republic shall indeed have a new birth of freedom under God.

Eye Lincoln In Light Of 1959 Segregation

By Hoke Norris

Sun-Times Staff Correspondent

URBANA—If Abraham Lincoln were in the White House today, what would he do about the problems of school segregation in the South?

On Thursday, the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's birth, a reporter asked that question of four scholars assembled here by the University of Illinois to participate in the celebration of the sesquicentennial.

Two of them agreed that on the basis of his record on the slavery issue, he would move slowly—he would be a moderate—in attempts to solve today's Southern question.

Different Conditions

The other two said you couldn't move a man 100 years into the present and judge what he would do now—the circumstances under which he lived a century ago were too different from ours.

And they pointed out that like many great men, Lincoln could be quoted in support of almost any position, and his statements have been used both by North and South in the current controversy between the two sections.

Sees Moderation

Prof. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University, a native of Galena, taking into consideration time and circumstances declared, "on the basis of the position that Lincoln took on slavery, he would say that any great social change must come slowly and gradually, and it best comes with the consent of all concerned. . . . I think he'd be a moderate between the segregationists and the NAACP [National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People]."

Prof. Norman A. Graebner of the University of Illinois noted that "Lincoln was no utopian. . . . He was a realist, and his realism outweighed his idealism. I think he would move slowly. . . . He did what he could to reunite the Union. Most people misunderstand Lincoln. They forget that he was a practical man."

Out Of Context

Prof. auid Donald of Columbia University said that Lincoln and the Civil War had been wrenched out of context in a search for modern applications.

"An enormous part of Lincoln material is pure trash," Donald said. "Would he smoke cigars? Would he be a prohibitionist? Lincoln can be quoted on any side of any question. He can be quoted as moving slowly on emancipation. . . . But on the other hand, he did this far more drastic thing [the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation] than the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation."

Progress Factor

Roy P. Basler, director of the reference department of the Library of Congress, said, that "if Lincoln had lived, the Negro would gradually have gone farther in achieving his rights than he did in the Reconstruction, after Lincoln's assassination, and I think the Negro would have been far closer to what he feels he is entitled to

than he is in fact."

Basler spoke Wednesday, at the opening of the two-day celebration. The others were on Thursday's program.

They pictured Abraham Lincoln not as an abstract idealist but a practical politician who saw the Civil War not as a means to end slavery but to preserve the Union; as a conservative who would regard radicals of either extreme as dangerous men; and as the savior of a nation that he would today not recognize.

A New Union

"Lincoln reformed the Union, but it was not to be the Union that he had known," Graebner told a luncheon given by Dr. David Dodds Henry, president of the U. of I., and Mrs. Henry.

"Andrew Johnson, his successor," Graebner said, "was no match for the rapacity of the radicals whose revolutionary purpose of creating a new, industrial America rather than returning to the past demanded a continuing cold war against the South."

As the practical politician, Williams said, Lincoln was firm in his devotion to the art of the possible, and he saw to it that the right thing was done at the right time.

Flexibility Cited

He could change his mind, and act accordingly. He changed his mind about emancipating the slaves, Williams told an afternoon audience, "because the impelling dynamics of war had created a new situation that demanded a new policy."

Though Lincoln expanded the scope of the presidency, Donald said at a night session, he had little impact either on Congress or his own administrative aids.

"The common, and kind, explanation is that the wartime President, being a very busy man, had to concentrate on the more essential aspects of his job and to slight the others," Donald said.

"This argument would be more convincing if Lincoln had not devoted a quite extraordinary amount of his time to really trivial matters."

If Lincoln Were Here Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 11, 1960

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Roy M. Harrop, of Omaha, Nebr., wrote the following article. It is very timely and appropriate.

Mr. Harrop is national chairman, National Commercial Travelers Economic Security Foundation, Inc.

The article follows:

IF LINCOLN WERE HERE NOW

On February 12 Americans will celebrate the 151st birthday of Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, and one of America's greatest statesmen, constitutional lawyer and champion of solvency of the United States of America. In the crisis of 1863 Honest Abe saved this Republic when the Nation, after 3 years of the War Between the States, public credit was on the verge of ruin and a bleeding, bankrupt nation was restored to solvency when he authorized Congress to issue full legal tender currency, good for all debts public and private, free from interest and taxation.

We are again at the crossroads of destiny with a debt burden in the colossal volume approximately a thousand billion dollars, which includes the national debt, State municipal and private debts. Our national debt, caused by deficit spending, has now reached \$290 billion, all of which is borrowed credit, and foisted upon us by international bankers under the privately owned Federal Reserve bank system which must be paid through taxation by the people of the United States.

We cannot forget the millions of men of all nations who laid down their lives in World War I, II, and the Korean war, who,

not realizing they were the pawns of the scheme of international bankers to gain control of the world through the control of money and credit monopoly which produced a debt-credit slavery system, under a one-world government scheme (the United Nations) did not realize they might spend the remainder of their lives in a foreign prison, and some are still serving a sentence in Chinese Communist prisons.

If Lincoln were here today, his conception of a world court would be far removed from an alien supergovernment. He would recognize no international flag, nor the consent to reduction of the U.S. Government as a mendicant to peaceful coexistence with international communism. He would never submit to a program of surrendered rights and policies (but would hold fast to the Constitution of the United States) who by summit agreements would transfer the right to declare war from the Congress to the United Nations, or the submission of the Monroe Doctrine, or our immigration policy, foreign giveaways, our control of the Panama Canal and our foreign possessions, or any other question vital to our rights, liberties and the pursuit of happiness, to an alien court in contravention of our destiny under our Constitution.

Lincoln once said: "I appeal to you to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you, is the question, Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generation?"

Our problems today are equally grave and perplexing. Having reached the forks of the road, which way shall we Americans go? Standing between civilization and chaos, destiny is hidden here; there is no halfway ground. We must choose between the Communist scheme of peaceful coexistence under the United Nations world government, which would make slaves of the U.S. citizens, or adhere to our U.S. Constitution that we may survive and live, and as Abraham Lincoln said that "government of the people, for the people and by the people may not perish from the earth."

If Lincoln Had Been on TV . . .

An interesting speculation about civil war

Minneapolis Star 2/12/60

An editorial in the Labor World, official organ of the Duluth AFL-CIO Central Body

There is something almost uncanny in a historical parallel called to mind by another observance of Lincoln's birthday.

One hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln, a truly humble man who placed human rights ahead of property rights, could not stop his homeland from plunging headlong into civil war. Southerners with huge holdings in human slaves then considered to be nothing more than property split the union rather than free their slaves.

Now, just a century later, another head of state, France's Charles deGaulle, was able to stop an armed rebellion of his own countrymen against self-determination for Algeria. He prevented civil war which surely would have been as bloody, if not more bloody, than the United States Civil war had been.

What was the difference? Was it the difference between the two men — the



Lincoln



DeGaulle

humble Lincoln and the proud deGaulle?

We doubt it. We think the decisive difference was the lack of rapid communication in 1860 and the almost instantaneous communication of 1960. There are even some who say that just the awesome power of live television made the difference.

Lincoln had no means whatsoever to reach the general public of the rebelling southern states. All he could do was depend upon the written word to carry his message to a very few. No matter how persuasive those written words were, they were not enough to turn the tide.

DeGaulle, too, tried the written word during France's recent hour of crisis. His words, even in the form of military orders, were ignored.

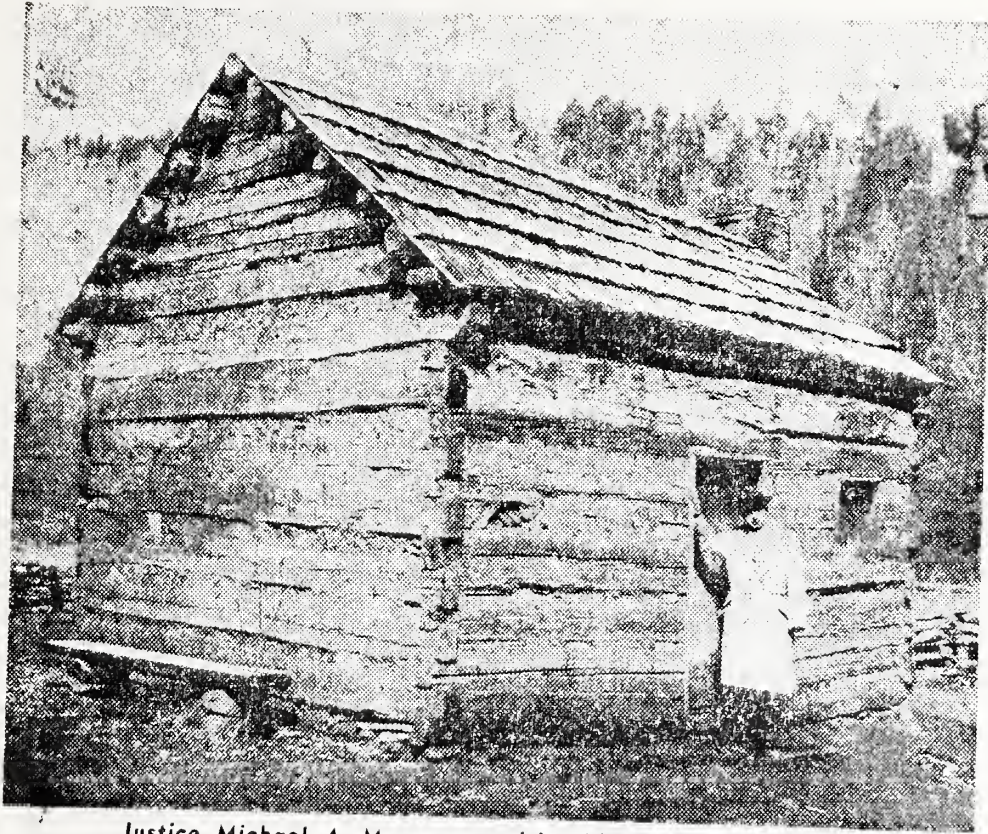
Then he tried a radio appeal; it also failed.

Like Lincoln before him, he about decided he'd done his best and that nothing could halt the Algerian rebellion from flaming into a full-scale civil war of Frenchmen against Frenchmen. But deGaulle turned to television as a desperate last resort.

He donned his old Free French uniform, wrote an address supercharged with emotion, and appeared on television in an epic attempt to restore national sanity.

With only a fraction of the coverage possible in the United States, he succeeded. French army dissidents finally realized their responsibilities, rebel sympathizers began to doubt their leaders, citizens by the millions became suddenly aware of the alternatives ahead. Within a few days one television talk by one man changed the course of history.

Had television reached into every corner of the country 100 years ago, we think Abraham Lincoln also might have prevented not only the Civil war but the bitter aftermath that has rent these United States ever since.



Justice Michael A. Musmanno visits birthplace of Lincoln.

Lincoln's Distrust Of Russia Stressed

Musmanno Says Civil War President
Would Condemn Reds As He Did Czarists

Special to The Press

HODGENVILLE, Ky., Feb. 12—Abraham Lincoln was wise to the Russians in his own era and would have distrusted them still had he been president a century later, says Justice Michael A. Musmanno.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court jurist spoke at Lincoln's birthplace here last night on the eve of the Great Emancipator's Birthday.

Justice Musmanno said Lincoln never would have permitted the Soviet army to occupy Berlin and wouldn't have accepted its alliance in the waning days of World War II in the Pacific.

"If Lincoln were alive today," the Pittsburgh jurist declared, "he would frown on the calamitous observations by some individuals about Russia's assured superiority over America in military prowess."

Lincoln Knew Russia.

"The story of Russia is an old one and Lincoln knew it well."

Justice Musmanno noted that Russia had invaded Hungary in 1948 and crushed her bid for independence "just as she did in 1956."

"Lincoln reacted to this sort of despotic brutality as the United Nations should have reacted to the Russian crime of 1956," he observed.

"As a private citizen Lincoln said the invasion of Hungary constituted 'an illegal and unwarrantable interference,'" he added.

He quoted Lincoln as stating that "to have resisted Russia in that case . . . would be no violation of our own cherished principle of non-intervention, but on the contrary would be ever meritorious in us or in any independent nation."

Justice Musmanno said the "Bolshevik hierarchy in Russia is no different from the Czarist hierarchy in Russia."

Would Banish Fear

"What Lincoln said of Russia in 1855 is true of Russia today. He said of Russia that it is a country where the rulers 'make no pretence of liberty, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.'"

The jurist exhorted the U.S. to "follow the example of Abraham Lincoln and banish fear from our hearts."

"If Mr. Lincoln had been fearful in facing the issues of his day the United States would have been torn, not into two parts, but into a dozen fragments, and we would long ago have become satellites of greedy overseas powers."

Justice Musmanno spoke in front of the cabin where Lincoln was born, a cabin now memorialized in a national shrine.

He is a Lincoln scholar who for many years recited the Gettysburg Address on the battlefield in Pennsylvania on Lincoln's Birthday.

Baltimore Sun
February 12, 1962

Lincoln and the Bomb

Sir: It is distressing to read an opinion by Carl Sandburg that Abraham Lincoln would have dropped the atomic bomb on Japan if he had been Chief Executive at the time and under the circumstances President Harry Truman made the decision so to do. As reason to support his opinion Mr. Sandburg states, as reported, the school of thought which believes a demonstration of the power of the bomb on "some mountain or valley" would have failed to convince the Emperor and war lords of Japan of the utility of continuance.

Notwithstanding his reputation as an authority on Lincoln, this after-image of our great humanitarian President which Sandburg projects should not be allowed to linger too long in our conscious vista to further confuse our thinking in terms of national morality concerning super-bombs. We need not identify Lincoln with this act performed by only one nation, resulting from a decision made by only one man. Would Lincoln have decided as Truman did? Never! . . .

Francis Clifford.

Baltimore, Feb. 4.

G.O.P. And Democrats Clash On Lincoln Day

Washington, Feb. 13 (UPI) —The Republican Party, using traditional Lincoln's Birthday dinner platforms last night, accused the Kennedy Administration of neglecting civil rights, bungling foreign policy, and ignoring the Cuban threat.

Democrats answered that Lincoln, the first G.O.P. President, would scorn his party today and Republicans would not tolerate the Great Emancipator in their ranks now.

Ignoring G.O.P. gibes, President and Mrs. Kennedy entertained 800 guests at a White House evening reception marking the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Prior to the reception, Kennedy received a report from the Civil Rights Commission on the past 100 years of progress by the Negro toward full civil rights.

The President said that all Americans, "particularly the American Negro," could "take satisfaction in this record despite the setbacks...."

The report said that the final battle for racial equality would be fought in the North against exclusive "gentleman's agreements" rather than in the South.

The "gentleman's agreement" which bars minority citizens from housing, employment restrictions, crowded neighborhood schools "are the subtler forms of denial and the more difficult to eliminate," the report said.

Attacks Are Many

While the reception was taking place, Republicans around the country listened to party leaders attack the President and his Administration.

Senator Clifford P. Case

(N. J.) told a Springfield, N. J., dinner that the Administration "failed to lift a finger" to help Senate efforts to tighten filibuster rules and make it easier to enact civil rights legislation.

The Republicans, Case said, have "spearheaded every major civil rights measure in the last century."

At a New York City dinner, (Senator Jacob K. Javits (N. Y.) attacked Kennedy's dealing with U.S. Allies. His policies, Javits said, have given "grave signs of fumbling and insensitive leadership in foreign policy at a time when we can least afford it."

New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, speaking at the same dinner, charged that Kennedy "has abdicated virtually all leadership toward achieving necessary civil rights legislation."

Cooper Asks Firmness

In Boston, Senator John Sherman Cooper (Ky.) said the Administration should adopt a firm policy that it will not accept or tolerate a Russian base in Cuba, or at any place in the Western Hemisphere.

Cooper said the Administration's domestic and international policies have caused "a rising tide of unease and uncertainty" in the nation.

He urged "a clearer declaration of the chain of command to and from the President, the stilling of the many voices in the faculty, the ending of information leaks, and a firm renunciation of 'managed news.'"

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) replied to G.O.P. charges by saying the Republicans used "bad judgment" in attacking Administration foreign policy. Such criticisms were made for political purposes, he said.

Representative William G. Bray (R., Ind.) attacked Administration Cuban policies in a statement in the Congressional Record. He said Kennedy is doing nothing about "schools of sabotage, subversion and revolution" operating in Cuba to spread Communism and revolt through Latin America.

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON.

A lot of people will be writing about Abe Lincoln today and his goal of government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

They also will be speculating whether all of the people can be fooled how much of the time.

Things haven't changed very much since Abe Lincoln's day. In a dictatorship you have to keep people quiet.

In a democracy you have to fool at least 51 per cent of the people all of the time, or else fool all the people 51 per cent of the time. And that's why you have such a giant network of public relations and advertising agencies on Madison Avenue trying to fool the people or, to use a more elegant word, "sell" them.

That's also why you have an administration in the White House which watches its public relations almost more than any other in history.

But though Abe Lincoln had his ideas about fooling the people, the main battle he fought was that of wealth vs. poverty. His drive to free the slaves was really a battle against wealth, because the slaves of that era, the poorest people in the nation, nevertheless represented the greatest single property in the nation, the means of wealth for the property owners of the South.

If Lincoln were alive today, and in an ironic mood, he might rephrase one line of his Gettysburg Address to read: "Government of the wealthy, by the wealthy, and for the wealthy."

If he were alive he would be the first to study the figures of the Commerce Department and the recent books on poverty showing that about one-fifth of the American people live in poverty. And he would probably rephrase his words at the Illinois Republican convention to read: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. This government cannot endure permanently one-fourth in poverty, three-fourths in wealth."

POVERTY IN U.S.A.

Michael Harrington, author of "The Other America; Poverty in the United States," estimates that forty to fifty million Americans live in poverty.

"The poor," he says, "are increasingly slipping out of the experience and consciousness of the nation. If the middle class never did like ugliness and poverty, it was at least aware of them. 'Across the tracks' was not a very long way to go.

"Now . . . the poor still inhabit the miserable housing in the central area, but they are increasingly isolated from contact with or the sight of anybody else. Living out in the suburbs, it is easy to assume that ours is an affluent society.

"The poor . . . are without lobbies. They put forward no legislative program. They have no

face, no voice . . . only the social agencies have a really direct involvement with the other America. Forty to fifty million people are becoming increasingly invisible."

Or again, Lincoln would be interested in reading "Wealth and Power in America" by Dr. Gabriel Kolko, in which he summarizes the budget of the average poor family.

"There is no telephone in the house," he writes, "but the family makes three pay calls a week. They buy one book a year and write one letter a week.

"The father buys one heavy suit every two years and one light wool suit every three years; the wife one suit every ten years or one skirt every five years . . . In 1950 the family spent \$80 to \$90 on all types of home furnishings, electric appliances, and laundry equipment . . . The entire family consumes a total of two five-cent ice cream cones, one five-cent candy bar, two bottles of soda, and one bottle of beer a week."

POVERTY IN NORTH CAROLINA

Just before Lincoln's birthday I had a talk with Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina who is trying to do something about poverty in his part of the United States.

Because 25 per cent of the poor are Negroes or non-white, though only 11 per cent of the population is non-white, Gov. Sanford has undertaken to lift the standard of living of the North Carolina Negro. To this end he appointed a North Carolina Good Neighbor Council composed of state leaders, both white and colored, and has asked that local communities also appoint their own Good Neighbor Councils. The goal is to create more job opportunities.

"When one-fourth of our population lags behind, it pulls down the rest," Gov. Sanford told me. "When we increase its buying power, we help the rest of the state. It should add new economic growth for everybody.

"But even more important," continued the governor, "we should do this because it's honest and fair, and because we are concerned about the welfare of our neighbors. We must give all men and women their chance in life."

I asked the governor whether he had the power which Vice

President Lyndon Johnson has of withholding government contracts in order to enforce equal opportunity.

"We don't have any stick to require enforcement, just persuasion," he explained. "But when some of the respected business leaders, such as E. R. Zane, vice president of Burlington Industries, call on a factory owner they are listened to and can be persuasive."

The governor had expected mixed reaction to his Good Neighbor Council, but the response was overwhelmingly favorable.

"You should see the fine letters I got from the black belt of eastern Carolina," he said.

Abe Lincoln, I thought, would have appreciated the work of Gov. Sanford.

16th President Honored *The Fargo Forum* **North Dakota Money Problems *2-13-63* Would Have Shocked Lincoln**

BISMARCK, N. D. (AP) — The problems that North Dakotans face today would have shocked Abraham Lincoln, William R. Pearce, Bismarck lawyer, told a joint session of the North Dakota Legislature Tuesday.

The Senate and House met to mark the birthday anniversary of the 16th president.

Pearce noted the Legislature is

facing a possible deficit more than the \$15 million purchase price of the entire Louisiana Territory, of which North Dakota was a part.

He added that Lincoln's Secretary of State, William Seward, bought Alaska from Russia for only \$7 million.

North Dakota has a particular interest in Lincoln, Pearce said.

On Jan. 1, 1863, Lincoln signed the Homestead Act which opened the Dakotas to homesteading.

Prospects were slim, Pearce said. There even was a problem at that time of how much of the United States there was.

"Abraham Lincoln was about as unlikely a candidate to be at the helm of the United States government as anyone," Pearce said.

"His television presence probably would have been terrible, and his manner of speaking would perhaps have been embarrassing."

Lincoln did not get a majority of the popular vote in the presidential election of 1860, said Pearce. In fact, he didn't get as many votes as two of the other candidates together.

Tracing Lincoln's presidential career and death shortly after being elected to a second term, Pearce said:

"We had no Lincoln for the days of reconstruction, and perhaps we are suffering for that yet."

Pearce called Lincoln a man typical of America.

He had no towering intellect, the speaker said, no military conquests, and in fact was the most ordinary man to ever hold a position such as President of the United States.

Pearce noted Lincoln came from a humble background, failed in business and had only a moderately successful political career before becoming chief executive.

"Yet he was typical of the men who were pushing outward into the west of that time," said Pearce.

"The qualities of Lincoln are what we need to remember — not the minutiae."

Elmer T. Peterson

What Would Lincoln Have Said About United Nations Policies?

TODAY we celebrate the birthday of the man who probably did more to dramatize the meaning of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" than any other mortal man who ever lived.

It cannot be taken for granted that a union of states dedicated to the ideals of the American republic, as eloquently portrayed by Lincoln in the closing sentence of his Gettysburg speech, is perpetuated automatically. It has to be safeguarded against "persishing from the earth" by precautions against a vast variety of enemies from within and without. Supreme vigilance is essential.

William Chamberlain, thoughtful commentator, raises questions as to what effect the United Nations is having on basic American ideals. Without quoting him except briefly, comment may be made to support some of his citations. He raises questions as to what effect the United Nations is having on American ideals. He admits that "it is not politically feasible to advocate the United States dissociation from UN" because of wholesale attitudes that apparently were automatically accepted, but he does urge greater vigilance by way of throwing the influence of the United States against certain notorious trends in the UN. At present there is serious evidence of hostility to liberty in action.

The UN has grown from 50 to 111 members, due to the accession of a large number of small countries in Africa and Asia whose leaders are prone to use brazenly totalitarian tactics in gaining their objectives.

Notable example is that of Nehru, allegedly a great idealist, in violating the international rights of Portugal in the Goa episode, against the legitimate interests of the United States, which, with Portugal, is a member of NATO

Actions taken in the Suez episode, and the callous performance of Sukarno in Indonesia, a dictator of a most undesirable type, were significant.

Sukarno also precipitated violence in the Malaysian situation, burning down the British embassy without protest from responsible officials.

One clause in the UN Charter says: "All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that the international peace and security and justice are not endangered."

The conniving and violence of the USSR has been met with calm indifference not only in its infamous Hungarian policy but in the Berlin Wall affair, and its previous acts that destroyed the liberties of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and other areas. The espionage practices and cold war of the USSR against the United States are flagrant undermining of world freedom.

If the multitude of small new nations, each with an equal vote in the assembly, are not actual friends of the USSR, they might as well be, judging from results.

The United States finds its hands tied by innumerable bonds that hinder and often completely block the functioning of the principles of liberty established by the American founders and effectively reinforced by Lincoln.

Without entering into the debate as to whether the UN should be abolished or whether the United States should withdraw, there is a ringing potential call for a new birth of freedom, in which the ideals of the American Republic are re-affirmed and used in the functioning of UN policy instead of the conniving of irresponsible and dictatorial enemies of our form of government.

W. L. Fortune Says Lincoln Would Be Democrat Today

"Lincoln was a conservative Whig turned Republican, a master politician who was willing to face the issues of his time, a fighting liberal and the greatest American and human being ever born," William L. Fortune, candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor, told a meeting of the Democratic Luncheon Club yesterday.

"I am sure that if he were alive today he would be a Democrat, using all his wit and imagination to solve the great issues of our time rather than hiding from them or running from them as the Whig-Republican Party today is doing," Fortune added.

Paul Berghoff, club president, presided at the meeting held in the Continental Room of the Dutch Lunch.

To Elmer Underwood
Thought you would enjoy this
comparison of then and now.
4/6/63
Edward & Edna Hillier

IF LINCOLN LIVED TODAY—

A Profile in Poverty

There is serious doubt that the Lincoln saga—up from adversity—could be repeated in today's America.

Hardships such as Abraham Lincoln knew are about obliterated. Government has stepped in to cushion the poverty, poor schooling, financial insecurity that he overcame on his own.

If Abe Lincoln lived today, his life would be far different.

Abraham Lincoln celebrated his last birthday on Feb. 12, 1865—a century ago. On that birthday, the President soon to be martyred was 56.

Now, serious thought is being given to the question whether the America of today and of the future ever again could produce a man with the character and understanding of Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln was born in the Apalachia of 150 years ago, on a hard-scrabble farm in Kentucky. He grew up in dire poverty, lacking any of the benefits of a welfare state. There was no security offered to him by his family or by a benevolent government.

In all of Lincoln's life, he enjoyed less than one year of formal schooling. Today, he would be called a "dropout." In his school-age years, the wilderness was his teacher.

Lincoln, in effect, was the product of rural slums far harsher than any of today. The Lincoln family was frequently on the move. The housing was low-cost, but not on the scale of grandeur of the low-cost housing of today.

Planting pumpkin seeds. The first memory that Lincoln recalled in later life was of painfully planting pumpkin seeds, one hill at a time, in rows of corn, only to have a spring flood quickly sweep away all his effort.

At the age of 8, the youthful Lincoln spent the extremely severe winter of 1816-17 in a lean-to built by his father in what is now Spencer County, Indi-

ana. One side of the shelter was exposed to the elements. The only warmth came from an open fire fueled by hand-hewn wood. The family subsisted almost entirely on wild game.

Lincoln never knew a minimum wage or unemployment insurance. At the age of 17 he got his first job—as a ferryman's helper on the Ohio River. His pay was 37 cents a day. This, and later the money he made in the back-breaking job of splitting rails for fencing, went to his father.

In all the time young Lincoln was growing up there was no thought about going to a university, or getting a government scholarship. Nobody mentioned a Youth Corps.

There were young toughs then as now. Lincoln earned the respect of a gang of these toughs when he was 22, after he had set out on his own and was living in New Salem, Ill. Challenged as a newcomer, he bested the gang leader in a wrestling match and won a friend.

No relief rolls then. Through all his life, Lincoln never had the chance to get something for nothing. There were no welfare workers to take care of his needs or to worry about his problems. Relief rolls were nonexistent.

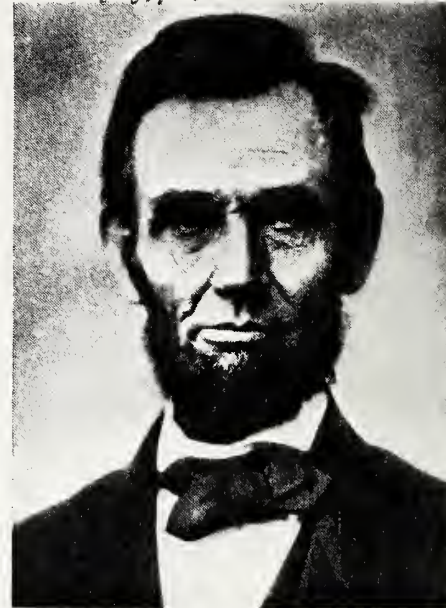
Yet, out of his struggle against poverty came the molding of a strong character in a man who possessed a deep understanding of human nature. It was a testing that developed the leader who led his nation through the fierce and costly Civil War—and preserved the union.

Lincoln first began to study English grammar at the age of 23. He also studied mathematics. For the most part, he was self-taught, but whenever he needed help he sought out the assistance of others who had achieved a higher level of education than himself.

To expand his field of knowledge and benefit from the learning of others, he joined a debating society.

Politics appealed to Lincoln as offering the best chance for advancement for a poor man in a frontier settlement, so he offered himself as a candidate for the State legislature of Illinois.

Desire: to be "esteemed." "Every man," he said in an appeal for voter



Lincoln as President. The raw strength of the frontier was reflected in the man who guided the U. S. through the fierce Civil War and saved the union.

support, "is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say for one that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed.

"I am young and unknown to many of you. I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations to recommend me."

At the time, Lincoln was employed as a clerk in a general store at \$15 a month. But business was poor and the store, as Lincoln put it, was about to "wink out." So he answered a call for volunteers for the State militia to prepare to repel a feared invasion of the territory by an Indian war party. He was elected captain of his company.

Lincoln's military service was brief—80 days—and he returned to New Salem without having seen battle action.

There were no GI benefits. Lincoln's pay for his military service was \$125. But he learned the value of morale and discipline, the elements of handling men.

His own "national debt." Defeated in his first bid for public office, Lincoln bought a partnership in a general store. This involved merely giving the seller a note and a handshake. When his partner died, Lincoln found himself saddled with a debt of about \$1,100—a burden that seemed to him so enormous that he called it "the national debt." But, eventually, he paid it all off. That ended his storekeeping.

Appointed postmaster of New Salem
(continued on page 76)

[continued
from page 74]

IF LINCOLN LIVED TODAY—

at \$55 a year, Lincoln took on any job he could find to eke out an existence. He worked as a railsplitter, farmhand, newspaper agent, surveyor. To qualify for the surveyor's job he bought himself a compass and chain, studied a book "and went at it."

About 1832, Lincoln began thinking about becoming a lawyer. College was out of the question. There were no Government loans or scholarships available. But he bought a book of legal forms and began drawing up deeds, mortgages and other legal instruments for his neighbors. He even argued minor cases before the local justice of the peace, but took no fees for these services because that would have violated the law.

In 1834, Lincoln won election to the State legislature on his second attempt and began serious study of the law. Borrowing books, or buying them at auction, he would study lying on his back under a tree, with his long legs and feet braced against the trunk.

Formula for success. Years later, in advising a young law student, Lincoln revealed his thinking about getting ahead as a lawyer.

"If you are resolutely determined to make a lawyer of yourself," he explained, "the thing is more than half done already. It is but a small matter whether you read with anybody or not. I did not read with anyone. Get the books and read and study them till you understand them in their principal features; and that is the main thing."

"It is of no consequence to be in a large town while you are reading. I read at New Salem, which never had 300 people living in it. The books, and your capacity for understanding them are just the same in all places. . . . Always bear

in mind that your own resolution to succeed is more important than any other one thing."

Before leaving New Salem at the age of 28, Lincoln qualified before the State supreme court as an attorney. He made his home for the rest of his life in Springfield, Ill.

A hypochondriac? Throughout his early life, Lincoln was afflicted by various illnesses, and by periods of severe melancholy that sent him to bed for weeks at a time. In the medical world of that time, his lowness of spirits was described as hypochondria, brought on by anxieties or disappointments.

Shortly before his marriage on Nov. 4, 1842, he was to write:

"I am now the most miserable man living. If what I feel were to be distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on the earth. Whether I shall ever be better I cannot tell; I awfully forebode that I shall not. To remain as I am is impossible; I must die or be better, it appears to me."

Lincoln survived that bout without recourse to the kind of Government-supported medical aid that would have been available to him today. As time went on, he was able to control his spells of melancholy, although they always troubled him.

Once a fumbling though witty speaker, Lincoln by self-instruction sharpened his ability to express himself, to prepare the speeches that were to become models of clarity and brevity in the English language.

In his leisure time he read all the newspapers he could find. Without the facilities of modern public libraries, he searched out and read books on many

subjects, including astronomy. He made a study of the writings of Shakespeare.

Lincoln was never satisfied in handling a thought until, as he put it, he had bounded it on the east, west, north and south.

Elected President, he drafted all of his own public remarks. There was no need for a ghost writer on his White House staff. Lincoln's most famous speech, the Gettysburg Address, was written in his own hand on a single sheet of paper.

Lincoln often speculated that his humble origin and lack of schooling did not handicap him, because they were common deficiencies in a frontier settlement. The individuality that became so marked in years of national prominence was established in his youth.

Rural living developed his talent for inventiveness. Lincoln learned to resort to expedients when normal practices were unavailable. He cherished personal independence in thought and action.

Strength of the frontier. Lincoln drew into himself the raw strength of the frontier, learned to respect the courage and self-reliance of the people who opened up the wilderness to settlement. He was impressed with his country's beauty, its mystery and its bounty.

Early in his life, one biographer believes, he came to think of himself as odd, and he felt he must learn to stand alone and make himself strong.

Wholly without the security now built into the everyday life of Americans in town and country, Lincoln overcame the obstacles of his time by his own determination and resoluteness.

In the "Great Society" being projected today, there rise serious doubts that America will ever know another success story like that of Abraham Lincoln.



Illustration: Culver

Lincoln's law office in Springfield, Ill.: A successful lawyer without benefit of law school, Lincoln told a young law student: "Your own resolution to succeed is more important than any other thing."

Could Lincoln Be Elected Today?

There is a type of question that has endless fascination: "Could Jack Dempsey beat Joe Louis?" Lincoln Lore, published at Ft. Wayne, Ind., takes the prototype and remakes it into, "Could Lincoln be elected today?"

The exact wording follows:

"A great many people have inquired if Abraham Lincoln, a man of modest means; could be elected to the Presidency today. The answer to such inquiries is, of course, a matter of conjecture. Except for students of United States history, few people are cognizant of the traditional methods of conducting Presidential campaigns in the 1860's. Lincoln adhered to the precedent set by George Washington that no Presidential candidate should actively participate in his own campaign."

Lincoln's secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, said he took no part; Lincoln Lore says that Lincoln's own correspondence and a careful review of known facts indicate differently. While Lincoln made only one speech that could be called a campaign speech (on Aug. 8, 1860, at the fairgrounds at Springfield, Ill.) he kept a tight grip on party machinery, appeared personally when it was the astute thing to do, and in many ways actively participated in his campaign for the Presidency.

The "man of modest means" part of the question is hard to answer. Probably the best guess is that if a candidate represented the hopes of enough of the people, ways and means for him to campaign would be found.

Probably no American President has been the subject of more fanciful legends, although none was needed to heighten his fame, than Lincoln. For example, Lincoln Lore republishes a print of the Lincoln era which shows him on horseback in front of his Springfield home, apparently returning from a successful campaign. Further it shows Lincoln with a beard. If the print was intended to represent Lincoln in the fall of 1860 it is inaccurate; for one thing, he did not start to grow a beard until well after the election. But it is interesting that some people wanted to view even Lincoln, whose service in the Blackhawk War was his only military duty, as a man on horseback. It is especially interesting when one recalls that after Lincoln came a long succession of Civil War generals in the White House--- each, in his own way, a man on horseback.

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

Abe Couldn't Stump; Wasn't Thing To Do

By DR. R. GERALD McMURTRY
Director, Lincoln National Foundation

A great many people have inquired if Abraham Lincoln, a man of modest means, could be elected to the Presidency today. The answer to such inquiries is, of course, a matter of conjecture. Except for students of United States history, few people are cognizant of

the traditional methods of conducting presidential campaigns in the 1860's. Lincoln adhered to the precedent set by George Washington that no presidential candidate should actively participate in his own campaign.

In fact, some biographers have stated that Lincoln made no campaign addresses, wrote no public letters and held no political conferences. Nicolay and Hay in their "Abraham Lincoln — A History," wrote that "beyond a few casual interviews . . . the great presidential canvas went on with scarcely a private suggestion or touch of actual direction from the Republican candidate."

Modern historians do not always agree with Lincoln's private secretaries regarding Lincoln's so-called inactivity during the period from May 18 to November 6, 1860. A study of Lincoln's correspondence compiled in "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln," Volume IV, pages 50-136, and a survey of his activities in "Lincoln Day by Day — A Chronology," Volume II, pages 280-296, reveal that the "Rail-splitter" was no rocking chair candidate. Instead, he had a firm grip on the reins of the Republican Party machine.

The nearest approach to a campaign speech was Lincoln's remarks at a Republican rally, held at Springfield, Ill. on Aug. 8, 1860.

The rally was a mammoth occasion at the fair grounds and was attended by thousands. Lincoln's arrival during the afternoon in a carriage set off a stampede by

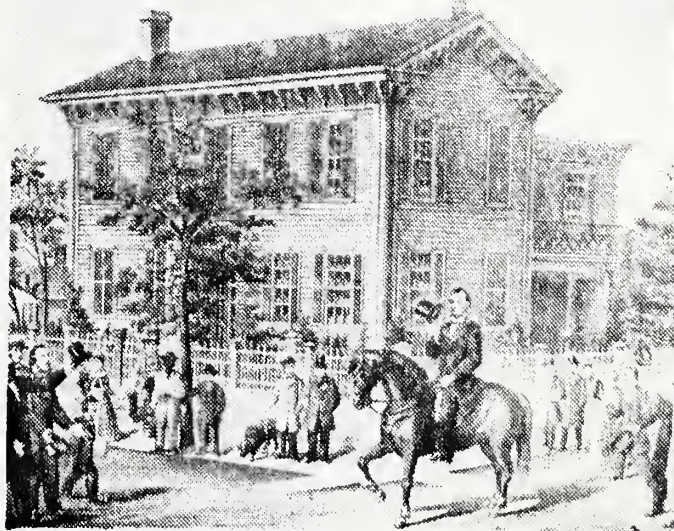
his friendly supporters who lifted him bodily from the vehicle and carried him to one of the stands. Upon being presented to his tumultuous audience, he made the following remarks:

"My Fellow Citizens: — I appear among you upon this occasion with no intention of making a speech. It has been my purpose, since I have been placed in my present position, to make no speeches. This assemblage having been drawn together at the place of my residence, it appeared to be the wish of those constituting this vast assembly to see me; and it is certainly my wish to see all of you. I appear

upon the ground here at this time only for the purpose of affording myself the best opportunity of seeing you, and enabling you to see me.

"I confess with gratitude, be it understood, that I did not suppose my appearance among you would create the tumult which I now witness. I am profoundly gratified for this manifestation of your feelings. I am gratified, because it is a tribute such as can be paid to no man as a man. It is the evidence that four years from this time you will give a like manifestation to the next man who is the representative of the truth on the questions that now agitate the public. And it is because you will then fight for this cause as you do now, or with even greater ardor than now, though I be dead and gone. I most profoundly and sincerely thank you.

"Having said this much, allow me now to say that
Continued On Page 5E.



CAMPAIGN OVER — Lincoln's return home is pictured after a hushed but successful campaign for the Presidency of the United States in October, 1860. From print supplied by Lincoln National Life Foundation.

Abe's Image a Misfit For Modern Presidency

By Bob Considine

King Features Syndicate.

New York — Abraham Lincoln was an ugly man. He would have been too tall for television. His voice would not have projected. His beard would have been the subject of savage cartoons if his Presidential career had been advanced a century. Opponents would remember



Lincoln . . . No cabbages.

that he once thought it was a pretty good idea to ship all the United States Negroes back to Africa.

He would have been considered an ultimate square, what with those crazy black clothes with the long coats and the wide pantslegs, although the beard undoubtedly would have turned the kids on.

His problems with his wife would have been the source of guarded items in somebody's

Opinion

New York or Washington gossip column. His lonesome strolls in Washington, late at night when he couldn't sleep, would have resulted in his being mugged.

Not Much Fun

He couldn't afford the railroad fare to go from Springfield, Ill., to Chicago for the convention that nominated him. He could not have understood the Republican Convention in Miami Beach, which nominated Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew. He never heard of Miami Beach.

He didn't believe in churchmen. This would have caused grave misgivings among the religious press, and probably a charge or two that he was a Communist.

Lincoln didn't have much fun in the White House, even though he didn't have news conferences. He did a lot of standing around, looking out windows. It wasn't a gala Administration.

He had a lot of Union Army bums living in the East Room. They were supposed to protect the place in case of Confederate attack.

This is the same room in which Abigail Adams hung her wash, and President Nixon now holds his meetings with the Washington press corps.

'Not Fit'

Lincoln could not have understood some of the aspects of today's Presidency. His means of conveyance was by carriage and horse. He would have found it hard to believe that a vehicle heavier than air could fly.

Lincoln's public relations staff would have asked him not to say such things as "Nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting . . . Seriously, I do not think I am fit for the Presidency."

Abe had a good way of defining guts.

"I can't spare this man; he fights," he said of U. S. Grant in 1862. When Grant's enemies assured the President the General was an alky, Lincoln said, "If I knew what brand of whisky he drinks, I would send a barrel of it to my other generals."

'Not Pretty'

That wouldn't go over very well today, but it had something to do with preserving the Union. Lincoln admired Grant for his tenacity of purpose. "When Grant once gets possession of a place, he holds on to it as if he inherited it," he said in 1864.

Mary Todd gave him a hard time before he was President. In 1845 she said of her gangling fellow, much to his embarrassment, "Yes, he is a great

favorite everywhere. He is to be President of the United States some day; if I had not thought so I never would have married him, for you can see he is not pretty. But look at him! Doesn't he look as if he would make a magnificent President?"

If Pat had said that, Dick would still be in the Wall Street law firm.

Young Abe Lincoln

IN SOME ways Abraham Lincoln, who was born 161 years ago today, might feel right at home in Washington in the last third of the 20th century. The divisiveness of the people on critical issues would be an old story to him. So would the fight for civil rights, tho he might be mildly surprised that it was still going on.

He had something to say on both subjects: "In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to be free," he told Congress in 1862. And 2 years later, he said: "Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of

this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good."

That's pretty up-to-date talk for a man his age. Mr. Lincoln certainly wears well.

Lincoln Would Object

How in the name of Abe Lincoln can Congress even be thinking of taking 10 days off during this period of national economic crisis? Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield had the good sense to ask himself that question the other day and cancelled the Senate's traditional Lincoln's birthday recess, which had been scheduled for February 7-17.

We hope House leaders will follow suit. If they don't, the legislative mill will grind to a near halt at a time when it should be operating at full speed. It would be a dereliction of duty for the 94th Congress, which barely has gotten organized, to drop everything when immediate attention is needed on legislation to get the country out of its economic slump and to conserve energy.

While we're on this subject, it might be worthwhile for congressional leaders to look at some of the other recesses they have scheduled during 1975. In addition to 10 days for the Lincoln recess, 11 days are scheduled for Easter, 10 days for Memorial Day, 11 for the Fourth of July, 31 for the "Au-

gust" summer recess, 4 for Yom Kippur, 11 for Columbus Day, 4 for Veterans Day and 10 for Thanksgiving. Undoubtedly Congress will adjourn before Christmas, which will give members at least another two weeks off.

The way we figure it, Congress is likely to be off the job more than it's on during 1975. The scheduled recesses, plus two weeks at Christmas time, add up to about 115 days. The remaining 250 days make up about 36 weeks, and when you consider that many congressmen work only a four-day week (some even trim it to three), that leaves under 150 days for legislating.

Abe Lincoln certainly would be the last to suggest that Congress take 10 days off in February to go around the country making speeches (for free or for pay) extolling the virtues of Abe Lincoln. Lincoln, whose dedication to the work ethic is legendary, undoubtedly would be more pleased if members of Congress remembered him by sticking to their jobs during this critical period.

Washington Star-News
THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1975

File - May 1983
(L... ..)

Ny Times Editorial 7/26/83

Yankees, Bats and Nicaragua

As a Yankee fan, New York's Senator D'Amato has no trouble seeing why a bat with too much pine tar cost George Brett a home run and the Kansas City Royals a ninth-inning victory Sunday. Baseball rules 1.10(b) and 6.08(d) forbid any foreign substance more than 18 inches above the handle. "Sure, it was fine print," says the Republican Senator, "but a rule's a rule."

It certainly is, in every American's congenital sense of law and fair play. So what about the rules — Congress's rules — against undeclared war in foreign countries like Nicaragua? Respect for the rules, and for the Constitution, is not an empty ritual. It's as American as baseball, whose thick rule-book is the first Constitution of most American youngsters. The book binds Yankees as well as Royals. Slugger Reagan may not like the fine print, but who exempted him?

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Congress has been willing, with misgivings, to vote for open aid to Honduras, if that can be shown as necessary to stop Nicaragua from slipping arms to rebels in El Salvador. But Congress has expressly forbidden a secret war to overthrow Nicaragua's leftist regime. The President denies any such intention, but the telltale grease is all over his bat.

The small bands of Nicaraguan exiles hitherto used to "harass" the alleged weapon routes are said to be failing. So now the C.I.A. wants a 10,000-man invasion force. Cuba's training and aid missions inside Nicaragua are to become targets for its sabotage and destruction. American ships and planes are to fly in support of these operations. And Mr. Reagan, defining his objectives, says peace is incompatible with Sandinista rule in Nicaragua.

These plans were not supposed to be revealed until after the House of Representatives had voted this week on the new aid request for the anti-Sandinista army of Nicaraguan "contras." The plans were in any case to be misrepresented as something other than what they are: acts of war.

Since President Reagan feels uninhibited by the law so far, it is important that Congress now make its meaning unmistakably clear.

Representatives Boland and Zablocki, two mainstream Democrats, propose that \$80 million be allocated for curbing any arms traffic — provided, however, that the plans are public and can be shown to have no more devious purpose. If any of the money turned out to be financing a secret war to overthrow the Nicaraguan junta, the money authorization would be terminated forthwith.

This is not a case of writing rules in midgame; the proposed limitation only takes President Reagan at his word. As freshly restated by his Ambassador to Managua, Anthony Quainton, the word is that American policy aims not to topple the Sandinista regime but rather "to modify its behavior in some substantial ways." Congress has already said that the only justifiable "behavior modification" by force has to be confined to external behavior — the kind that clearly threatens other nations.

Yet Administration officials already plan to use the money for the biggest covert operation since Vietnam, for also doubling the number of American soldier-advisers in El Salvador, for permitting them to operate "in the field" though not "in combat" (whatever that distinction means) and of an all-American naval blockade against Nicaragua.

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The United States is being taken to war not only without a declaration from Congress but against its expressed desire. Americans, including Congress, are being asked to let the President and his C.I.A. be the only judges of the national interest, irrespective of either international or domestic law.

We don't know what George Brett thinks about that, but we feel certain that a young Illinois Congressman in 1848 would have voted for Zablocki-Boland as the best way to affirm his sense of the nation's values.

"Allow a President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he deems it necessary," he said, "... and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study to see if you can fix any limit to his power in this respect after you give him so much as you propose."

That Congressman was Abraham Lincoln, whom you might call a home-run hitter.

Honest Abe on TV? He would be a star

By James C. Clark

OF THE SENTINEL STAFF

Failed presidential candidates, who blame television for their loss often claim that "Abraham Lincoln wouldn't have been elected if television had been around."

Nonsense. Abraham Lincoln would have been the perfect president for television. He was the master of what is known today as a photo opportunity, and his speeches were brief and quotable.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address lasted just two minutes, plenty of time for a network correspondent to talk briefly, with the new battlefield gravestones in the background, and then cut to Lincoln's speech.

Excerpts from that speech would work nicely on the one minute news updates. Imagine fifteen seconds of " . . . we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

In 1863, political speeches were supposed to be real stemwinders; politicians thought nothing of going on for an hour or two. In fact, Lincoln's speeches often were criticized because they were too short. In other words, perfect for television.

His words seemed to have been written with the television audience in mind. In his first inaugural address on the eve of the Civil War, he appealed to the South: "We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our

bonds of affection." Who knows what impact words like that might have had if every Confederate had heard them on television.

Lincoln's humor was self effacing, turning aside harsh newspaper criticism with a kind word. Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York Tribune, was a frequent critic of Lincoln's policies. In 1862, Greeley strongly criticized Lincoln's failure to free the slaves. Lincoln replied, calling Greeley "an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right."

If Horace Greeley couldn't get under Lincoln's skin, ABC News reporter Sam Donaldson wouldn't have a chance.

When reporters criticized Gen. Ulysses S. Grant as a drunk and suggested he should be removed, Lincoln coolly replied that he would like to send a case of whatever Grant was drinking to each of his generals. The criticism soon subsided.

Lincoln invented the presidential photo opportunity. There was Lincoln in the field with Gen. George McClellan, or with Grant, sitting in front of a tent receiving the latest military reports.

Four months before the 1864 election, Confederate troops under Gen. Jubal Early came within sight of Washington. For a time it seemed as if Early's men might actually enter the city — which was being defended by a rag-tag assembly of wounded soldiers, government workers and a home guard.

In the midst of the fighting, Lincoln came to the front and stood among the soldiers as the bullets flew around him and his aides begged him to leave. But Lincoln



BILL WITSBERGER/SENTINEL

stood tall, his trademark black top hat in full view. Imagine the kind of television commercials the Republican National Committee could have made of that.

In 1865, just days after the Union troops had captured Richmond, Lincoln paid an unexpected visit to the former capital of the Confederacy. He was greeted by cheering former slaves and then went to the Confederate White House and sat in the chair that had been occupied by Jefferson Davis. A scene like that would have been repeated constantly by the networks.

Ronald Reagan may be known as "The Great Communicator," but try to recite a single line from one of his presidential speeches. For that matter, try to recall a single line from a speech given by Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter.

There are only a handful: Kennedy's 1961 inaugural address contained one or two lines that are still quoted, Lyndon Johnson promising not to send American boys to fight in Vietnam and Richard Nixon saying, "I am not a crook." They hardly compare with Lincoln's second inaugural address that contains the phrase "With malice toward none, with charity for all."

If television has become such

the dominant force in politics how come the political parties keep putting forth nominees who are so bad at it? Only Kennedy and Reagan have been able to master television.

Eisenhower, who had the first news conference to be filmed, often appeared to forget the origin question and his answers were confusing and contradictory. Johnson and Nixon were uncomfortable on television when they were not in control of the production, and the only memory most Americans have of Ford on television is of him falling off airplane or bumping his head.

Except for Reagan and Kennedy, the presidential candidate who looks the best on television seldom go anywhere. This year Democratic nominee, Walter Mondale, manages to draw praise when he is not as dull as everyone expected him to be in a television appearance.

A candidate like Abraham Lincoln would have media advisers dancing in the streets, although they undoubtedly would have wanted to make some changes. A new hair style would have done wonders for his unkempt hair, the large bump on his face would have to be covered with makeup and for goodness sake, Abe, cut the Emancipation Proclamation talk. It's not playing at all well in the Border States.

Books of The Times

The Reward of Virtue

By D. J. R. BRUCKNER

THE LOST SOUL OF AMERICAN POLITICS. *Virtue, Self-Interest, and the Foundations of Liberalism.* By John P. Diggins. 408 pages. Basic Books, \$23.95.

If Abraham Lincoln came back now, what would we do with him? "Lincoln was perhaps the last President to call upon Americans to 'sacrifice' for both the health of the state and the state of the soul," John P. Diggins says. Well, that was long ago. Most of us now seem grateful to live in a nation whose system of Government, as Tocqueville said, is not one of only the wisest and best; it makes as much use of our vices as of our virtues.

It might have been otherwise if the high idealism of the Declaration of Independence had shaped the Constitution. But the framers of the Constitution, Mr. Diggins argues, believed the pursuit of happiness is really the pursuit of property. The ideal of their liberal philosophy was to let people alone to make their fortunes. John Adams endorsed the notion of David Hume, the philosopher, "that all projects of government founded in the supposition or expectation of extraordinary degrees of virtue are evidently chimerical."

Not to everyone. Noah Webster wondered how, if citizens' self-interests were to rule, a Government could be formed at all. Patrick Henry thundered, "When the American spirit was in its youth, the language of America was different: liberty, sir, was then the primary object." Webster, writing his dictionary, included under "Republic," "Common interest; the public (not in use)" and under "Virtue," "Strength," "Bravery, valor. *Meaning obsolete.*"

In recent years leading historians have argued that the foundation of the Republic was classical thought, as expressed by Machiavelli or even Rousseau. In the classical ideal, virtue involved the citizen sacrificing for the Republic. George Washington and the early revolutionaries may have flown that flag, Mr. Diggins says, but the Constitution was strictly utilitarian.

The framers did worry that they might be creating a nation of sybarites, or worse. Hamilton said, "As riches increase and accumulate in a few hands, as luxury prevails in society, virtue will be in a greater degree considered only a graceful appendage of wealth, and the tendency of things will be to depart from the Republican standard."

Their concern is understandable. They asserted that their Republic was better than the old monarchies; and, if it was better, should it not make people better? Tocqueville noticed the relative civic indifference of Americans and their worship of money in the absence of civic ideals. The situation made Emerson despair. Thoreau, asked about social virtues, talked sarcastically about the natural virtue of pigs in a litter, piled up to keep warm, and said "the State never intentionally confronts a man's sense, intellectual or moral, but only his senses."

The alienation of Americans guided only by self-interest was notorious long before Marx and the sociologists elaborated the concept. In Tocqueville's vision it was terrifying in the context of the social tyranny of the majority in a world without hierarchies, a tyranny that made the virtuous, conscientious man "an impure being." What rescued them from that alienation, in Mr. Diggins's view, was the Calvinist religious ethic surviving from the old puritan colonies. The Calvinists' sense of original sin and the value they placed on work could dispel people's sense of alienation. What was lost in life could be found in



John P. Diggins

Religion, in the campaign for the abolition of slavery, was also to restore "the language of moral passion" to politics, Mr. Diggins says. And eventually it was religious thinking that saved the Constitution and the nation itself, when it inspired Lincoln's realization that, while the battle over abolition was a moral battle, "the triumph of virtue is to get along with those who may have none"; religious ideals made him the great healer.

Lincoln was as practical and shrewd as Machiavelli, but he saw government as benevolent, doing good things for people, and economic development as a fulfillment of the American ideal, not a betrayal of it. And, in the struggle against slavery, Mr. Diggins says, "Lincoln had no choice but to develop a new sense of benevolence and virtue that would have more to do with holiness than with heroism. It would make religious conscience, whose importance the framers had denied, the moral anchor of the Republic." He wanted to "liberate ideas from interests and power and thereby endow them with the 'weight of pure authority.'" Finally, "in Lincoln American political thought ascended, and, ascending, reached spiritual ecstasy."

Mr. Diggins, who teaches history at the University of California at Irvine, writes about the first eight decades of the nation, but he acknowledges he is thinking about now as well. He set out to refute some historians' theories about our national origins. He may have failed in that, but his exploration of the political, religious and social ideas that were powerful when the nation was formed, and still dominate it, raises so many intriguing questions about who we are and where we came from that his book has a value far beyond academic argument. The reader can disagree with most of what he says and still be inspired to read again the original documents.

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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Lincoln Wouldn't Charge Taxpayers

To the Editor:

In response to Tom Wicker's May 1 column, "What's Improper?", as to whether or not the White House chief of staff cheated taxpayers by using military aircraft for his personal use even though he paid the approved commercial fare plus \$1 for \$4,000 hourly costs for the use of the aircraft, a thought or two for John Sununu from Abraham Lincoln by way of Ulysses S. Grant:

"Executive Mansion, Washington, January 19, 1865. Lieut. General Grant: Please read and answer this letter as though I were not President, but only a friend. My son, now in his twenty-second year, having graduated at Harvard, wishes to see something of the war before it ends. I do not wish to put him in the ranks, nor yet to give him a commission, to which those who have already served long are better entitled, and better qualified to hold. Could he, without embarrassment to you, or detriment to the service, go into your military family with some nominal rank, I, and not the public, furnishing his nec-



Christophe Vorlet

essary means? If no, say so without the least hesitation, because I am anxious, and as deeply interested, that you shall not be encumbered as you can be yourself. Yours truly."

LAWRENCE D. HOGAN
Professor of History
Union County College

Cranford, N.J., May 10, 1991

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2/18/92

LINCOLN/Speaker analyzes Abe's methods

CONTINUED FROM PAGE B1

ents required to run for office would have been different in the 19th century.

The ability to project one's voice to a crowd of 5,000 to 10,000 people outdoors without amplification was desirable in Lincoln's time, but unnecessary today.

"Who cares now? You can have a little whispery voice and it doesn't matter a bit, but in the 19th century, you had to be able to be heard without amplification by thousands of people — which was a crucial talent," Neely said.

Another difference: "Furthermore, the society in which these politicians lived and operated was basically rural — where people worked hard, isolated out on farms. There was nothing to do, so a political campaign was a relief from the boredom of ordinary life."

When 19th-century citizens went to hear a political speech, they wanted it to last two hours or longer. The Lincoln-Douglas debate lasted three hours, he said, in contrast with the 30-second television spots of today.

Appearance: While it's difficult to tell whether Lincoln, whose birthday was Feb. 12, would have come across well on television, he was not image-conscious and

would have never had hair styling or makeup as today's media-savvy politicians, Neely said. Moreover, Lincoln would never have had cosmetic surgery, as did David Duke of Louisiana.

On the other hand, Lincoln had political talents that stand the test of time, including being a good judge of character and choosing able subordinates.

"He wasn't afraid of other strong politicians, so he filled his Cabinet with his rivals for the presidency. Other presidents don't want anybody in there who is as dazzling as they are, or nearly so. They're scared of them. Lincoln wasn't scared of anybody."

His choices for the Cabinet worked out well and surrounded him with able people during the Civil War, Neely said.

Lincoln's outlook: Another positive characteristic Neely believes most politicians lack was that Lincoln didn't hold past grievances against people.

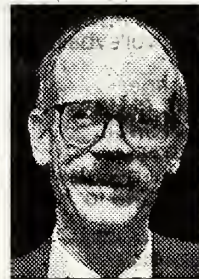
"Lincoln didn't care about the past. As long as you were with him now, that was fine. He didn't keep score. He didn't have grudges, or, really, many enemies beyond just his opponent in the immediate contest," Neely said.

YOUNGSTOWN

Speaker analyzes Lincoln's methods

■ Some of Abe's political savvy still would work today — honest

By MARIE SHELLOCK
VINDICATOR STAFF WRITER



If Abraham Lincoln were running for president today, some of the political skills he had in the mid-1800s would be applicable, says Mark E. Neely Jr., one of the nation's foremost Lincoln scholars.

Neely "To the degree that it takes some facility in dealing with the media, it's hard to tell how Lincoln would have fared, but his other political talents are sound for all time, I think, in a democratic system," Neely said.

Here's the event: The director of Louis A. Warren Library at Fort Wayne, Ind., told a Presidents Day gathering of Mahoning Valley Civil War Roundtable in Youngstown Monday that public speaking tal-

Please see LINCOLN page B2



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Mark Bennett: How would the 16th president handle the current war and the economic and financial issues facing the country?

By Mark Bennett
The Tribune-Star

TERRE HAUTE September 21, 2008 12:05 am

— Abraham Lincoln wouldn't bail out AIG.
Or would he?

It was Lincoln, the Republican, who signed the National Bank Act of 1864, creating a new system of banks and a federal government agency to regulate it. Just four years earlier, the country had a hodge-podge of currency, with more than 10,000 different bank notes circulating; banks failed; the economy struggled.

So, in 2008, if the financial giant American International Group, investment bank Bear Stearns, and mortgage entities Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac fail, you have to wonder, what would Lincoln do?

Without a time machine, we'll never know. And, even if Abe could be beamed into the 21st century, it's debatable whether the complexities of modern America would overwhelm his prairie lawyer background. Still, Lincoln is regarded as the nation's greatest president for more than just his handling of the issues of his day. His moral strength, humanity and commitment transcend the changing eras.

He would be a great president today.

Those four words — what would Lincoln do? — seem like a subplot to the 2008 presidential campaign. His name gets invoked frequently by the candidates, Barack Obama and John McCain.

Both have territorial claims to the 16th president. McCain shares a party tie with Lincoln, the first Republican president. Obama's historic rise to the Democratic nomination parallels Lincoln's in many ways, climbing from the Illinois state senate to a brief stint in Congress and then the White House.

"Both of these guys love Lincoln," Harold Holzer, a renowned Lincoln historian and author, said Tuesday by telephone from New York.

The country should pray that affection never wanes. At a time when America faces a continuing war, a punch-drunk economy and a dire need to find home-grown sources of energy, the nation needs its next president to clearly see Lincoln's shadow.

"I hope that we never have an election where the candidates don't look at the Lincoln example," Holzer said. Holzer knows the Great Emancipator's life story. He's co-authored 20 books on Lincoln and the Civil War, and serves as co-chairman of the national Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission. Holzer's upcoming book,

"Lincoln: President-Elect," examines his final ascent from Illinois politics to the Oval Office. Many of the Lincoln references this election season concern Obama's legislative experience. As Obama's readiness gets debated, his supporters rightly emphasize that Lincoln served just one term in Congress, representing the 7th District in the U.S. House, before becoming president. But the most convincing case for leadership over experience comes from Lincoln's predecessor.

James Buchanan had been a three-term U.S. senator, secretary of state and an envoy to Britain. In 1856, America elected him president.

"James Buchanan was one of the most experienced legislators ever to be elected president," Holzer explained, "and yet he just dithered and made a mess."

Instead of confronting the festering feud over slavery and the imminent secession by Southern states, Buchanan — with all of his congressional and international experience — did virtually nothing to address it. He left Lincoln to face an epic catastrophe.

Skeptics might insist that Lincoln would be ill-equipped to comprehend issues such as universal health care, stem-cell research, the Iraq war and crumbling financial markets. Yet, it's doubtful that any subsequent president, from

Lincoln Parallels to Today Are Few

By ANDREA WOOD

The man who wrote the book — *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia* — addressing some 200 Civil War buffs on President's Day: the stage was set for looking at the politically troubled past, seeking guidance from the messiah of the civil religion for the politically troubled present.

"My message is not altogether soothing," said Mark E. Neely Jr. in an interview following his presentation Feb. 17 at Youngstown State University to members of the Civil War Roundtable.

"Rather than take lessons from Abraham Lincoln," he advised, "I'd say be very careful what lessons you

Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print, a topic where Neely says he does see contemporary connections.

Not unlike today's marketing of political candidates, he explains, "Popular prints were a business, not an art, and there was a rush to capitalize on the headlines and make a buck. Currier & Ives printed pictures of Republicans, Democrats — whatever would sell. They saw a business opportunity there and they met it with popular prints of the country's leaders."

It was an era when very few newspapers contained illustrations. Then, too, "There was no independent press," Neely notes. "Every newspaper was a party



take. The political system was much different then, and I consider the differences great enough that Lincoln's world is essentially a lost world. It's very difficult to apply him to 20th century problems."

The director of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum in Fort Wayne, which is supported by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Co., Neely addressed Civil War art, the subject of his latest book, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory*. He is co-author of *The Insanity File: The Case of Mary Todd Lincoln* and *The*

rag so when you bought a newspaper, what you were looking for was to see the other party vilified, and that's what they went in for in a big way. People today are really shocked by this — the fact that there were no gentlemanly restraints and no holds barred. It was an era when sex was a taboo but you could read about bastards at election time any time you wanted to in a newspaper. Today it's very mild by comparison."

Also very mild are today's political cartoons (See "Lincoln" Page 32)



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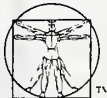
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Lincoln

(Continues From Page 31)

contrasted with depictions during Lincoln's presidency. And if there is an analogy to modern tabloid journalism, Neely suggests it may be here.

"Political cartoons were sold as separate sheet popular pictures and the content of them was often pretty scurrilous. We have never found any reference in a letter saying, 'I saw a cartoon hanging here' or 'A friend of mine spoke about this cartoon.' I think they only appeared in public in saloons — it was really tabloid stuff — and that is an accurate comparison."

As Neely writes in his book on popular prints, most of the cartoons contained "an aggressively racist common denominator of public opinion... And this is to some degree symptomatic of one powerful underlying cause for the dislike [among historians and collectors] of American Civil War cartoons: Lincoln gets handled pretty roughly, and his subsequent canonization has made the national mind, even its aesthetic sensibilities, recoil from attacks on him."

"He endured criticism that seems shocking to us today, which was routine for every 19th century politician, but when he was assassinated, he overnight becomes martyr to freedom. It became unseemly to say such things about him that they were saying before. His critics were immediately silenced and they're basically never heard of again. We have 10,000 books and pamphlets on Abraham Lincoln [in the Fort Wayne museum], and I have to think for a few minutes before I come up with one book that is cover-to-cover anti-Lincoln. The amount of anti-Lincoln literature after his death is very small, and it's still true today."

And yet, Neely says, Lincoln's legend holds up to intense historical scrutiny.

"One of the things I find myself most often saying is that what you may have thought was a myth is really true. My favorite example is 'Honest Abe,' a campaign slogan in 1860. In fact, Lincoln was incredibly honest in money matters — a wonder to his wife," he laughs. "She was not as scrupulous about money and she considered him a fanatic about honesty."

While Lincoln's death instantaneously canonized his reputation, Mary Todd Lincoln's public standing — never really high — plummeted almost as quickly, only recently recovering, primarily from historical revisionism concurrent with the advent of feminism.

"Mrs. Lincoln was always a person in her own right, only before the current interest in women's history, that was considered a liability. Her interest in politics was an embarrassment in her day; now we look at her and say she was ahead of her time. She has benefited from the change in sentiments but even so, she has manifold problems."

Neely's book on Mrs. Lincoln's insanity case — following a trial in 1875, Robert Lincoln committed his mother to an insane asylum, which a jury overturned a year later — concludes she was indeed "insane in 1875, not necessarily before and not after," he says.

"Before 1865, before the murder of her husband sitting right next to her in a theater, before eventually the death of three of her four children at an early age, Mrs. Lincoln was a different person — humorous, vivacious, talkative, clever, witty, quick, well-educated — a fascinating person who is very hard to see from what is left to us. That makes her difficult to interpret."

What's not hard to interpret, Neely insists, is the penchant of Americans for elaborate assassination conspiracy theories, past and present.

"It's very hard to let great men go. For all that we celebrate the individual's role in American history, we really don't like to think that an individual such as Lee Harvey Oswald can affect history. That's disturbing to us and difficult to deal with — there ought to be bigger and more cosmic forces at work than just that guy. I'm not much impressed with these theories. I think they tell us about the national psyche rather than the crime."

Andrew Johnson to George W. Bush, could endure the crushing weight Lincoln carried as he navigated his own "issues." The freedom of an entire segment of our population, hundreds of thousands of Civil War casualties, and the sheer survival of the nation were the only things at stake.

Lincoln could handle a Wall Street collapse.

"What he offered that's universal and eternal is honesty," Holzer said, "and speaking to the people directly to reassure them, and resolving turmoil.

"He basically never lied to the American people," Holzer continued. "His 'Honest Abe' label was very diligently and honestly earned."

A "brilliant" thinker, Lincoln was also smart enough to surround himself with an experienced cabinet team.

Perhaps his most endearing quality was an unmasked humanity. "He's a guy who laughed and cried," Holzer said.

"He was once asked, 'How could you laugh in this time of crisis?' And he replied that if he didn't laugh, he'd be crying all the time."

Yes, but could Lincoln handle the glaring intensity of 24-hour, 21st-century news coverage?

"He thought he was in the modern era in communications," Holzer said. Photography became the latest, cutting-edge technology during Lincoln's years as president. Suddenly, his movements were exposed to the public like no leader before.

"He was a fellow who was not handsome, and yet he was one of the most photographed people of his time," Holzer said. Pictures of Lincoln, the president, often were included in family photo albums and in American homes.

"Can you imagine an era when people put politicians' pictures on the wall?" Holzer asked.

Maybe folks back then found comfort in gazing at Abe's rugged face and asking, "What would Lincoln do?"

The right thing, of course.

Mark Bennett can be reached at mark.bennett@tribstar.com or (812) 231-4377.

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Photos



Centuries ago, Cicero, pleading before a Roman jury in behalf of the poet Archias, said that great generals and statesmen were dependent upon the writer for their immortality. But occasionally it happens that a great statesman becomes his own poet Archias, as it were. Our Lincoln has done so.

The Lincoln who preserved the Union and freed the slaves has passed into permanency, as has the Washington who won our independence. But there is another and still living Lincoln, who has a word for every new citizen of the Republic, and for every new child of America. What he did, is achieved. What he spoke, is still a living word and will continue a living word as long as our people remain true to the principles of freedom and democracy. Abraham Lincoln was not only the great President, but also the great political artist. As statesman his deeds have at least been equalled, but we doubt whether in all the tides of the time a great man of action has ever spoken with so much enduring authority and unction, not only to Americans, but to the whole world of the present and future. [Minneapolis

